Archæological Survey of India.

REPORT

OF A

TOUR IN BUNDELKHAND AND MALWA, 1871-72;

AND IN

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES, 1873-74.

BY J. D. BEGLAR,

ASSISTANT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF

MAJOR-GENERAL A. CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

DIRECTOR-GENERAL, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

VOLUME VII.

"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions, of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them."—LORD CANNING

"What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally."—JAMES PRINSEP

Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1838, *p.* 227

VARANASI

INDOLOGICAL BOOK HOUSE

1966

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

To the scholars, students and readers it was a great problem to get books for research work, study and general reading of rare and out of print books. To meet their requirements, we, with much strenuous efforts could in the past procure books. for them, for which on account of the rarity, they had to pay a prohibitive price or had to go without them. So to satisfy their urgent demand we have taken on ourselves the publications of some such books, especially on Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Paleography and the allied subjects. We have further tried to explore the works on ancient Indian History, Culture, Philosophy, Art & Architecture etc. etc.

It is gratifying to note that we have undertaken to publish the entire works of Sir Alexander Cunningham who is a pioneer in the field of Archaeological survey of India. There are very few among the early Indologists, whose contributions, both in respect of quality and quantity can compare favourably with Sir Alexander Cunningham whose works become indispensible for all time. Beside two of his monumental works 'Corpus Inscription Indicarum' Vol. I (Inscriptions of Asoka and 'Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple under Bodhi Tree at Budh Gaya') we have already published his two books on numismatics, viz. 'Coins of Ancient India' and 'Later Indo Scynthians' together with his 'Geography of Ancient India.' !

Further his complete Reports on Archaeological Survey of India 24 Volumes are being completed and the complete set will be soon in the readers hands.

We hope our endeavour in the field of Archaeology and other subjects will be appreciated by our customers and readers and they will tender their full co-operation and patronage and thus encourage us and so as to enable us to bring out further works of the renouned authors from time to time.

30-4-66 RAMESHWAR SINGH.

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PREFACE.

THE two tours described in the present volume cover the greater part of Bundelkhand, a part of Malwa, and the eastern half of the Central Provinces. One of the main objects in Bundelkhand was to obtain photographs of the magnificent temples of Khajurâha. This was successfully accomplished; and we can now examine leisurely the details of these richly-decorated specimens of Hindu architecture, which form by far the largest and finest group of temples in Northern India Photographs were also made of the richly-carved temples at Pathâri and Udaypur. At the latter place Mr Beglar discovered that the ground plan of the temple was not formed on a square after the usual Hindu mode, but on a circle, not one of the salient points being a right angle. I have since tested Mr Beglar's plan, and I can vouch for the strict accuracy of his statement.

In the Central Provinces, Mr. Beglar took the eastern half of the country, whilst I took the western half, the line of division being the main road from north to south, running from Jabalpur *viâ* Seoni and Nâgpur to the Wen Ganga, east of Chânda. During this tour he visited many places that are now little known, but which were once large towns possessing rich temples. Some of these are still standing, but the greater number are in ruins. From them he collected many ancient inscriptions, ranging from 600 or 700 A. D. down to A. D. 1300 and 1400. Several of these inscriptions are of considerable interest, as they show the widely extended

power of the Haihayas of Chedi. Two of them are actually dated in the "*Chedi Samvatsara*," an era hitherto unknown. In two other inscriptions the era is called the "*Kalachuri Samvat*," which is the same thing, as the princes of Chedi were of the *Kalachuri* branch of the Haihaya tribe. I have examined some eight inscriptions dated in this era, which also mention the week day, from which I have calculated that the era began in A. D. 249, the year 250 A. D. being the year 1 of the Chedi Samvat.

None of these inscriptions have yet been translated; but I have made a very close examination of all the older ones, and I am able to say that they will throw much light on the history of this part of India from the beginning of the Christian era down to the Muhammadan invasion. One of Mr Beglar's discoveries was the rock-cut seal of the powerful King Sasângka, who destroyed the holy Bodhi tree at Bodh Gaya shortly before A. D. 600. The seal is cut in the rock of the fort of Rohtâs on the Son river. That great fort must therefore have belonged to him. In another place Mr. Beglar heard of a powerful Raja of former days who was named *Sao-Sangk*, or "one hundred shells," because he was always preceded by one hundred shell-blowers. This name can only be a corruption of *Sasângka*.

In one of the inscriptions from *Sirpur* I find that the place is called Sivapur and *Sivadurg* after *Siva Raja*. In another inscription I find mention of *Choḍa-Ganga*, who is probably the *Chor-Ganga* of the Orissa chronicles. Other inscriptions mention various princes with the title of Gupta, as Harsha Gupta and Siva Gupta. They are probably connected with the Siva Gupta and Bhava Gupta of the copper-plate inscriptions preserved in the temple of Jagannâth, as both these kings claim to have been sovereigns of Maha Kosalâ, the very country in which Mr. Beglar's inscriptions were discovered. I am now having these inscriptions reduced and transcribed preparatory to publication.

Mr. Beglar also made a very rich collection of photographs of the curious old temples in these little known places. Several of these are of considerable antiquity, and when their inscriptions are translated, we shall have acquired a valuable store of additional data for the history of Indian architecture.

A. CUNNINGHAM.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

REPORT OF A TOUR IN BUNDELKHAND AND MALWA, 1871-72.

My tour in 1871-72 extended over the greater part of Bundelkhand and the north-eastern portions of Malwa.

Leaving Delhi, the first place on the road to Mathurá that possesses any architectural pretensions is Ballabgarh. The fort is the common small enclosure with octagonal towers and battlemented walls of no ancient date. It is, however, in good order, and is a conspicuous object in the flat country around it. A small *chhatri* (cenotaph) with a marble dome, supported on carved marble pillars, near a tank on the road-side, is the only building of any consequence. It is a modern building in the late Mughal style. In plan the terrace is similar to that of Safdar Jang's tomb on a small scale; but, instead of having a great building in the centre, it has only this single small dome supported on pillars.

At Palwal there is an old tomb of red sandstone, said to be of a local Muhammadan saint; the dome of this is very slightly bulbous, and is intermediate in style between Humayun's and Shah Jehán's. The dome is pointed, like Humayun's; the sides have a doorway each, closed on three sides by plain hexagonal pattern lattices in red sandstone; the pendentives inside are peculiar, being formed of portions of two pointed vaults intersecting.

Two tombs not centrically placed occupy the interior.

Tradition states that the tomb was built by the fakir during his lifetime, with stones obtained by begging, one out of each cart-load that passed that way from the quarries to Delhi, when Shah Jehán's citadel and the buildings of Delhi Shahjehánabád were in course of construction. A large ruinous-looking serai in the city of Palwal is ascribed to Shah Jehán's period.

Just before reaching the city, to the west of the road, are the ruins of a mud fort with a masjid, and a masjid and tank; they are said to be of very recent date. A short way off the saint's tomb is an old masjid of three domes, with the dargâh of a local saint, still reverenced by the people. I could obtain no particulars regarding it, but from the style of the building, it should be of a period between Humayun and Shah Jehán; it is very small, and of no architectural pretensions.

At *Hodal* is a small fort, or fortified *serai*, with walls of rubble, battlemented tops, and the usual towers; two fine gateways opposite each other are yet in good order. The interior face of the fort wall is arcaded as in Tughlakâbâd, possibly to serve as quarters for troops.

Outside the fort, near one corner, is a lofty mud tower, said to be not over one hundred and fifty years old; but why or by whom it was built no one could inform me. Near the opposite corner of the fort is a small masjid, which, from its sloping walls, would appear to belong to an ancient period; but the entrance archways are unusually small, much like the small entrances common in modern masjids, especially in Bengal, and which can be traced gradually diminishing in size from Shah Jehán's era downwards. In Shah Jehán's great masjid in Delhi, the small archways have been noticed in my report as marring the effect of the building greatly; but although the real central archway there is also comparatively small, the great false opening, with its semi-dome in front, forming apparently the entrance, prevents the real inner small arch from being noticed. Here, there is no false large arch to screen the real small entrances; and the entrances are very small indeed, only the size of ordinary doorways of native dwelling-houses.

Near *Dotánáh* village, and to the west of the road to Mathurá, are extensive remains of buildings, which, from their style, appear to be of Firoz Sháh's period; the pendentives of many are similar to those of Khirki masjid at Delhi, and traces of colored glazed tiles still remain in the sheltered parts; tradition, however, ascribes the founding of the place to Shah Jehán.

At Kotwan are several chhatris and an immense block of buildings in the mixed Hindu and Muhammadan style, commonly seen in large buildings erected within the last 150 years; the block is built mostly of small bricks, of the kind commonly used in native houses, and were apparently taken from older buildings.

Chátah possesses a citadel, or small fortified serai, ascribed to Akbar; the walls are similar to the usual run of such walls, namely, of rubble with battlemented top, and quarters for troops in the interior face. Its two gateways are very fine. The place is ascribed to Akbar, and said to have been intended for a serai. Outside, at the foot of the serai wall, exists an old-looking mandir; as it stands, the mandir is an odd construction, apparently of various periods, and fragments of sculpture, resembling those at the Kutb, are inserted in the walls. Tradition ascribes the mandir to Shah Jehán's reign, which is probably correct; but it must have been built on the site, and with the materials, of a much older temple.

Chowmhán possesses a battlemented wall and gates in a ruinous condition.

The Mán mandir of Brindâban is a building, the age of which it is difficult to judge from its style. Fortunately, its age is well known; but we see in this the influence of Muhammadan on Hindu architecture, just as in the Kutb masjid we see the influence of Hindu on Muhammadan architecture. This building is especially valuable as being one of the rare early specimens of what General Cunningham, in his "Chronological Division of Hindu Architecture," calls modern Brahmanical. I was not allowed to see the interior (as the ministering Brahman gravely assured me that the deity inside was very hungry, and was at his meals) notwithstanding my offer of money to provide food to appease the deity's hunger; but from what could be seen by me, it appears that Muhammadan art influenced the Hindu only in constructive details, and that chiefly internally. The Hindus, in short, appear to have adopted the constructive expedients of the true dome resting on pendentives formed of true arches and the true arch itself; beyond this, the influence of Muhammadan architecture did not extend; neither the outer profile nor the plan shewed foreign influence. Color, however, appears to have been used internally, and also very sparingly externally. It is evident from this example that as late as Akbar's reign, Hindu architects of the old school had not quite died out in and about the capital, and that the influence of Muhammadan architecture had up to then been remarkably small.

There are many fine buildings in Brindâban, but mostly modern; it is, however, an ancient place, and worth detailed examination.

I pass Mathurá over, it being noticed fully by General Cunningham, who has this season further made a great deal of excavation and research there. From Mathurá to Ágrá, and near Sikandrá, are a number of half-ruined buildings, tombs apparently, but of no special interest.

Near *Jáit*, however, one march from Mathurá and near the Jamna River, is a small jhil with the statue of a hooded serpent, half ruined, in it. The legend attached to it is, that on a certain occasion a princess was married to a Raja from a distant unknown country, who, after a short stay, wished to depart to his own country with his wife. She, however, refused, unless he should declare to her his lineage. The Raja on this earnestly represented to her that she would regret asking him regarding his lineage (*vansa*,) and long entreated her to forego her curiosity. His efforts to dissuade her not succeeding, he desired her to accompany him to the river; on arrival there, he again attempted to dissuade her; but finding it of no avail, he entreated her not to be alarmed, or give expression to fear or regret at what she might see, adding that, if she did, she would lose him; saying this, he began slowly to descend into the water, all the time trying to dissuade her before it became too late, till the water rose to his neck; then, after a last attempt to induce her to give up her curiosity, he dived, and re-appeared in the form of a nága; raising his expanded hood above the level of the water, and moving it from side to side, he said, "This is my *vansa*; I am a *nágavansi*." The princess on this could not suppress an exclamation of deep grief, on which the nága was turned into stone at once, and exists there to this day. Tradition further asserts that, however high the river may rise during floods, the head of the stone serpent always keeps above it. The river has now left its old course, and runs further east a long way, leaving a hollow to mark its ancient bed, which in the rains becomes a jhil.

I did not hear the story till I had entered the Mahoba district, when it was too late to ascertain further particulars. The remains at Ágrá are numerous, and have attracted the attention of all travellers. They have been examined and described by Mr. Carlleyle, Assistant, Archæological Survey of India, and I refer to his report.

Occasionally, a few fine buildings are to be seen south of Ágrá, on the road to Bateswar, but, beyond a few miles, all traces of the vicinity of a large town, once the capital of Hindustan, cease, and the solitary road winds

onwards, with scarcely a cart or traveller to enliven its dreary monotony.

Bateswar is a small place, on the right bank of the Jamna, forty-three miles south-east from Ágrá. It is situated amidst a mass of the great ravines of the Jamna. An annual fair is held there, lasting about a week; great numbers of camels and horses are then brought and exposed for sale, besides goods of other kinds; the fair is held in honour of Bateswar Nâth Mahâdeva, represented by a large lingam in a commonplace-looking temple, one of the immense number lining the banks of the river for more than a mile in length. These temples are all modern, not dating beyond Shah Jehán's era, though a few may, from their style, be considered as old as Akbar. The scene during the fair is singularly beautiful; the long line of temples reflected from the green waters of the Jamna, which here is deep, and washes the massive and long line of steps reaching down from the temples to the river, enlivened by the gay dresses of the females, who flock from great distances and in great numbers to bathe, on the full moon, in the Jamna, here considered holy, and the glitter and show of the followers of the native chiefs, who come here from various parts of Gwalior and Bundelkhand, make up a whole not easily surpassed. Over the gay mass below, towers the dilapidated fort and palace of the present Raja, a building by no means pretty or in good preservation, but yet imposing from its position on the top of one of the ravines, and picturesque from the semitransparent veil thrown over it by the clouds of dust, which, at this time, persistently hover round the place.

The fair is held in a long strip of flat sandy ground, running nearly east and west from the great ghat on the river. It is about half a mile wide and wonderfully flat, considering its locality within a mass of ravines. The floods of the Jamna do not usually overtop the ghats; but last rains, the flood waters did overtop by several feet the great masonry band, which, adorned with temples and ghats, restrains the river on this side, and ran along the great plain, where, as just mentioned, the fair is held, back to the Jamna, which, after a great detour, comes back to a point almost exactly due east of the great line of ghats at a distance of about two and a half miles.

The legend regarding these temples is, that at the time when the first of the line of Bhaduria Rajas reigned, it was

the rule for each Raja to send a Princess for the seraglio of the Emperor of Delhi. The Bhaduria Raja had a daughter; but not wishing to send her to the harem of the Delhi King, he represented that he had no daughter; the other Rajas, who had sent their daughters, were indignant at this, and informed the Delhi Emperor, who thereupon ordered a search to be made. In this extremity, the daughter of the Raja fled alone to Bateswar, and prayed to the Devi at the temple to save her from the pollution of a Muhammadan seraglio. Her sex was accordingly changed, and she emerged from the temple a boy!

The grateful Raja on this diverted the river, and built temples along its banks, which now exist.

Another version of the story says that one Raja Hara, of some place unknown, and Raja Badan, the Bhaduria Raja, once made an agreement with each other to marry their children, should one have a son and the other a daughter; both, however, had daughters, but the Bhaduria Raja concealed the circumstance, and proclaimed that he had a son. Accordingly, in due time, the daughter of Hara Raja was married to the supposed son of Bhaduria Raja.

The imposition was, however, soon found out, and Hara Raja advanced with an army to avenge the injury, when the daughter of the Bhaduria Raja, to save her father from the imminent danger, determined to die and end the strife; accordingly she jumped into the Jamna; but to the surprise of all, instead of drowning, she emerged a boy; and Hara Raja finding that the Bhaduria Raja really had a son to whom his daughter had been married, retired pacified. The grateful Bhaduria Raja then diverted the Jamna from the spot where his daughter had jumped in, and instituted a great annual fair in honor of the circumstance, and built those temples all along the Jamna which we see now. Accordingly, Bateswar is by the people ascribed to this Raja, whoever he may have been; and they further assert that he founded, not Bateswar alone, but also Bhind, Ater, Nowgaon, Kacherá and Pináht, all of them places of note in the district.

The legend, however, at Bateswar itself, as related by the Brahmans, is quite different. According to them, the old name of Bateswar was Surajpur, and it was founded by Sura Sena, as Mathurá was by Ugar Sena; that, on a certain occasion, the sun or Aditya having bathed there, portioned out offerings to the various Hindu divinities—whence the name Banteswar, or Bateswar.

I have already noticed the broad strip of level land extending direct between the two bends of the Jamna at the east and west of Bateswar, and I now remark that the natural features of the country shew that this was originally the bed of the Jamna; for not only is the slope of the high ground and ravines on either side of it natural, but all watercourses between it and the present course of the Jamna run into *it*, and not, as they ought to, into the Jamna; besides this, the present course of the Jamna is bounded on one or both sides by high cliffs, which have not the natural slope that the high ground on either side of the straight strip has; further, the river would even now run along the straight strip, but for the great embankment of solid mansonry and ghats that restrain all attempts of the river to break through here. Though the tendency of the river is strong in this direction, and solid and massively built though the ghats are, the river has undermined them in places, and caused large masses to crack and tumble in; this restraint has also caused the river to scour out its bed, and its depth here is considerable.

Therefore, whatever credit may attach to the other parts of the legend, there is a probability of the river having been diverted. The diverting of the river for a short distance in that place would not be a very difficult task, as the gigantic ravines that branch out from the river, and almost meet each other after various twists and turns, would offer great facilities, and may, even of themselves without any aid from art, have so enlarged as to afford an easy passage to at least a portion of the flood waters of the river.

As the oldest temple there cannot date beyond Akbar, I should place the diversion of the river in his era at the furthest.

The first legend, noticed above, implies the existence of an older temple before the diversion of the river. This part of the legend I suspect to be an interpolation of the Brahmans to increase the sanctity of the shrine of Bateswarnath, by ascribing to it a fabulous antiquity.

Eliminating, then, the marvellous, the story appears to be that, on a certain occasion, a princess did drown herself to escape the pollution of a Muhammadan harem, and that her father in her honour diverted the Jamna, instituted a fair on its dry bed, and built the temples.

In the courtyard of one of the temples is a curious tapering shaft of brick and mortar, well plastered, and adorned with an immense number of little niches, with por-

jecting little brackets underneath, arranged in tiers over each other, all round the pillar. These are intended for the reception of lights. The effect is very good.

A mile from these temples, and perched on the ravines between the present course of the Jamna and what I have above conjectured to have been its ancient course, are two groups of modern temples, both ascribed by the people to Sarawaks, or Jains; the larger group is so undoubtedly, and is now kept in tolerably fair order; additions, repairs and new buildings have been added not long ago; and the date of the last gift of a marble slab with impressions of a pair of feet of Ádináth is recorded in modern characters round its margin. But among the statues to be found lying about, round, and in these buildings, some of which, though recent, are in ruins, are a number of large statues of figures seated in Buddha fashion, with crossed legs. These figures are all Jain, for not only are they naked, but each statue has a symbol on its pedestal, shewing that it was intended for a particúlar Jain Hierarch. In the whole of the place I could discover no relic which could with certainty be considered Buddhist.

The other and smaller group, though also called Jain by the people, appears to me to be Brahmanical; the fragments of images are of all sorts, late Brahmanical as well as Jain, the last, however, being very rare. No statues of Vishnu in the earlier forms of incarnation are to be found, but many of Hara Gauri, Pârvati, and her consort, Ganeça, and a medley of others which I cannot find names for, from their being in a mutilated condition, lie collected in heaps, and scattered about in all directions. The material is generally a soft coarse-grained sandstone; but one or two fragments of marble also exist, besides some of a kind of conglomerate, green mottled stone, and some of soapstone. The nature of the soft sandstone easily accounts for the appearance of great age the fragments have. This place must, however, at one time have been a Muhammadan dargâh or karbalá, as the graves with their headstones, or rather head-pillars, of brick and mortar, with the customary niche for a lamp, exist to this day, but strangely appropriated by the Hindus, they having used them as chobutrás to place images on; and the niche in the pillar at the head is used as the receptacle for some particular image in better condition than the others. There are many examples of Muhammadans appropriating to their religious uses buildings dedicated to Hindu

divinities, but instances of the reverse are very rare. It shews that, had the Hindus succeeded in driving out the Muhammadans from any part of India, their masjids and dargâhs would probably have been used for Hindu divinities, and sanctified with some Hindu legends.

This appropriation could only have taken place after the rise of the Maharatha power; the images and other remains there, except the graves, can therefore date back only to that period.

The Jain relics above alluded to also date back only a short time, except the large-sized seated Jain statues, which are earlier, but not much, if at all, earlier than the Muhammadan conquest, and are probably later. Copies of the inscriptions on their pedestals have been submitted to the Director General, and he will be able to pronounce on their age.

But whatever their ages, these two groups of remains must, at a period antecedent to Akbar, who first systematically formed matrimonial alliances with Hindu chiefs, have been on the left bank of the Jamna.

An old idgah on the present left side of the river, and not far from it, has already been noticed by Mr. Carlleyle. A heap of ruins, of which nothing can be made out, but which tradition asserts to have been a dargâh, exists also on the left and close to the present course of the river near the north-east elbow; all that remains is a heap of small-sized bricks.

From Bateswar I went to Bhind by a very difficult path, and after much trouble. The Chambal is a very picturesque river, and deep; it is said to harbour crocodiles. Its ancient name was Charmanvati.

On the road from Bateswar, *viá* Bah, to Khepona ghat on the Chambal, and beyond on to Bhind, are occasionally to be seen small temples of brick and plaster of recent date; the forms of some of them are very graceful, not going up like a straight-sided cone, or pyramid, but with a graceful swelling curve. Situated, as they are, in a wide plain, with no large trees in the vicinity, the apparent height is greatly exaggerated. They contain statues, either of Siva or Párvati or Hanumân, rarely of Durgá, oftener of Ganeça, and oftenest a lingam. A group of these statues in a small shrine at Khopá-ká-purá is peculiarly well executed; that of Devi, the eight-armed, was on a pedestal, formed like the capital of a column, having sixteen gaceful leaves boldly projecting, and eight lions as supports. The other statues were of Siva, Párvati and Ganeça, all very well executed; but all modern, as recorded in the inscriptions. Two bas-reliefs,

one representing Surya (?) in a four-wheeled chariot, drawn by two horses, the other a female on a peacock, may possibly date to a more remote period. In general, however, the statues are acknowledged to have been recently brought from Jaypur, where they are manufactured as a trade; and no antiquity beyond one hundred and fifty years, and in rare cases of two hundred years, is claimed, either for them or for the temples they are enshrined in, in this district.

Indeed, it appears, notwithstanding all that tradition may assert of the former wealth and prosperity of the district south of the Jamna and between the ravines of the Scinde, Pahoj and Chambal, that at no previous period, so far as remains of monuments and structures can testify, was it so prosperous as now. The rise of this district in wealth appears to date back, at the very utmost, not beyond two hundred years, and of this the present century appears to have been most productive of religious structures; and now, notwithstanding the mismanagement which allows armed gangs of fifty and upwards to wander about levying contributions or black mail on the villages within their beat, and robbing travellers, the prosperity of the district, on the whole, is rather on the increase. These armed gangs, if current accounts are to be believed, have a great deal of chivalrous feeling; and the most renowned of them, who robbed a large party (relatives, it is said, of the local Subah himself) near the Chambal crossing, only two days after I had passed through in safety, is stated to have not merely done no violence to a party of wealthy unprotected females that fell in its power, but to have even returned what it had robbed from them, on one of them presenting her hands and feet to the robber chief with the entreaty that he would take off the ornaments gently, and not, for the sake of obtaining them, lop off her hands and feet; in doing this, she used the common native expression of *bhái*, or brother. But this story also shews that it is no uncommon act for these lawless men to lop off hands and feet for the sake of more readily obtaining bracelets and anklets; and as for slitting of noses, it is thought nothing of at all. The gangs are very daring, and within a stone's throw of the fort of Bhind, the head-quarters of the local Subah, they openly robbed several fields of mature tobacco round my camp at a time when I happened to be absent on an excursion; my tents were, however, left in peace.

In the villages in this district, it is customary to collect

all fragments of sculpture found in digging, under one or two of the largest bat or pipal trees near the village; several of these fragments have accordingly, in the course of time, accumulated, and, in some instances, the entire collection has been placed within small shrines built near the outskirts of the villages. These fragments are not of much interest, being fragments of Sati pillars, fragments of the later Hindu divinities as Ganeça and Párvati, and collections of remarkable-looking boulders and pebbles, generally egg-shaped, which are set up on end and plentifully bedaubed with milk, ghi and vermillion. A great many of the fragments are of soapstone, and all are coarsely executed. Occasional exceptions are, however, met with; and at Umri, a short way from Bhind on the track to Rámpura, were several finely-sculptured fragments of female divinities, and one of a male naked figure, with an enormous head-dress consisting of a series of diminishing frusta of pyramids piled on each other, with narrow necks interposed.

Bhind itself is a large place, the largest in the district for many miles, and is the head-quarters of a Subah ruling the district. Its original foundation is carried back to fabulous antiquity, when a great Rishi or Muni, named Bhindi, performed Tapas there. A temple, called that of Bhindeswar, marks the site of the Tapas of the Muni. It is avowedly modern, but is said to cover the original shrine of mud and *kachá* bricks (if I understood my informants rightly) which was built by Bhindi Rishi himself. I could not see it, as may be easily imagined. The walls which surround Bhind are also ascribed to a period before the Muhammadan invasion, but the tradition of its having been founded at the same time, and by the same Raja who diverted the Jamna at Bateswar, is more to be credited, and the appearance of the walls, of the ordinary late Muhammadan pattern, built of brick, confirms the tradition. The bricks are small, well-burnt, and of the same kind as those at Bateswar. At some period subsequent to the erection of the walls, they appear to have been strengthened by a facing of earth. At present, a great part of the defences appear to be high earthen ramparts strengthened by a ditch on all sides except the west and north-west, where the ditch enlarges into a magnificent sheet of water washing the walls, and retained by a massive masonry revetement; but this appearance of earthen ramparts, which would seem to shew that the original fort was of earth, is delusive, for in some parts the earth slipping has

disclosed masonry walls in the heart of the earthen rampart. The masonry wall is therefore continuous; and being provided with battlements even where now buried in the earthen rampart, it is clear that originally the wall stood without this facing of earth; but from some unknown cause, and at some unknown period, the ditch was excavated, or re-excavated, and the earth from it and from the bed of the sheet of water thrown up so as to bury the walls. A fine viaduct, partly on arches, leads from the fort, across the lake, to a large modern dharamsála on the other side.

Near Bhind, about half a mile off, east, is a large enclosure, containing the ruins of several buildings said to be palaces, built within the last one hundred and fifty years. The place is called Nowadah, and an annual fair is held there. The ruins consist of four buildings on four sides of the enclosure and one in the middle; that on the south is the portico with a large building at its back, said to have been the minister's darbár, and opposite this, on the other side, is the palace, with female apartments, in good order in many places. The plan of the building shews a long verandah, with flat roof, supported by fretted arches, springing from pillars of sandstone, beautifully carved, but of the late Mughal style; behind this comes an inner verandah or hall, from the back wall of which doors lead into the inner apartments, consisting of a large central hall with small rooms at the sides. These rooms lead to groups of others, ranged round open courtyards, and so on. The *rooms* are two-storeyed. On the two other sides of the enclosure are two tanks, each having a palace built on its banks; the east one being a simple hall, with verandah and two side rooms; the western being very extensive, and with several rooms. The centre of the enclosure is occupied by a palace, an open structure supported on pillars. In this building are used fretted arches of beautiful design; they are all false arches, being cut into the required shape from two slabs of stone, abutting against each other at the crown; those in the upper storey are all fretted circular ones, but some in the lower are formed of portions of ellipses.

Chakarnagar, a small place situated in the fork of the Jamna and the Chambal, is said to be very ancient, and to have been founded by a Rishi.

Rámpurá contains a number of modern temples and chhatris and a small citadel, which from a distance is very imposing, and is visible for a great distance; but there is

nothing ancient here, nor at Saron (a small massively built fort on the road to Jaloun), for which its owners claim great antiquity.

In the outskirts of Jaloun stands the ruin of a small fort with the remains of very fine buildings inside. The forms of the arches and the carvings on the slabs forming the arches are very good; but they are all modern. The place is said to have belonged to the Nana, and to have been destroyed by the British during the mutiny.

Near this fort are several collections of fragments, one of which is that of a figure seated cross-legged, with the hands held up opposite the chest, supported on the intertwined tails of two nágas with human heads and bodies. This figure must be ancient; but no one knows where the fragment came from. Tradition says, that the present ruined fort was built on the site of an older one, and that in laying the foundations of the present one, many fragments of statues were exhumed, of which that above described may be one. No ruins besides this fort, however, exist in or about the place now.

At Orai are a few dressed granite door-posts of the Chandel pattern. Here, for the first time, I came upon specimens of the particular Chandel architecture, of which numerous and splendid examples exist further south. Orai is famous in Chand's "*Raisa*" as being the place near which the great final battle between Parmâl's troops and Prithi Raj was fought, ending in the total defeat of the former.

The story of Alha and Udal is a favorite all over the district between the Jamna and the high lands of Sâgar. It is periodically sung, and listened to by large assembled crowds during the rains. I subjoin a brief abstract of a portion of it, as it mentions several places which can be identified.

Parmâl was Raja of Mahoba, with the title of Maharâj Adhirâj. His wife was so beautiful, that Indra is fabled to have often come down from heaven to enjoy her society. It does not appear from the context, however, that Parmâl was in any way displeased at the amour of his wife with Indra. It rather appears, on the contrary, that whatever Parmâl may have thought, public opinion of the period, as represented by Chand, considered it, not in the light of either a disgrace or an immorality, but as a very high compliment to the personal attractions of the lady.

Parmâl, however, appears to have considered himself

entitled to some equivalent from Indra for permitting this intimacy with his wife, and accordingly, on one of the occasions of Indra's visit, while Indra was in his wife's company, Parmâl contrived to secure the services of Indra's celestial horse to obtain a celestial breed of horses for himself. On Indra's preparing to depart, he perceived the trick, and, as a curse on Parmâl, informed him that the breed of horses he had thus obtained would prove traitors in his utmost need. Parmâl had five horses thus obtained, of which one was named Hirnâgar.

I will now give a brief list of some of the names of important personages that appear in the account of the Mahoba war:—Parmâl, Raja of Mahoba; Máhil Deva, brother-in-law to Parmâl, a parihár or parwár (Jain ?); Alha, one of Parmal's warriors, son of Dasaratha of the Banáphar tribe; he is also called Madrakh, and Gáygowâl. In the body of the "*Raisa*" is mentioned incidentally how Alha, on one of Máhmud's invasions, when all the other Rajas, including Prithi Raj himself, shrank from an encounter with Máhmud, Alha, then a boy, volunteered to lead the fight, and was the means of inflicting the signal and well-known defeat on Máhmud. On this occasion, Prithi Raj, after the battle, in a solemn council, conferred the title of *Gáygowál* on Alha, with the remark that they (the Rajas) were like cows who needed a *gowal* (herdsman) to lead them, and he (Alha) had performed towards them the task that a herdsman does for his cows.

His other title of *Madrakh* was obtained when Mánju, Raja of Bengal (a Solánkhi Rájput), defeated Brahmá Deva, the Parihár Raja of Janakpur in Mathil Desa. Alha then came forward to help him, and saved him from ignominious flight. As a Rájput by flight breaks his vow not to turn his back to the enemy, and incurs ignominy, Alha, helping Brahmá Deva, saved him from losing his *mad:* hence his title. The following names are connected with the history of Alha,—Máchal Devi, Alha's wife; Idal, his son; Udal, his brother; Devá Devi, his mother; Máhil Deva, Raja of Jhujan, brother-in-law and minister of Parmâl; Jagnayák Bhát, poet of Parmal; Malkhán, Alha's cousin, being son of Alha's mother's sister; Alkhan, brother of Malkhán; Ranjit and Brahmájit, sons of Parmâl.

For some reason not very clearly made out, but somehow connected with his sister, Parmâl's wife, and on some grounds regarding his own claim to the Raj of Mahoba, Máhil Deva entertained enmity to Parmâl. As far as I can make out, he appears to have been a Jain, Parwar being to this

day used generally as a title for Jains in the Chandel districts, and of course he felt no especial respect for Indra, and would, and perhaps did, feel it a disgrace that his sister should be permitted by her husband to have an improper intimacy with this Indra, by whomsoever personated.

So long, however, as Alha continued to be one of Parmal's warriors, he felt it would be vain to attempt by force to deprive Parmâl of his Raj and avenge himself, for, as above stated, Alha had proved himself even as a boy braver than Prithi Raj, the acknowledged bravest Raja in Hindustan. He accordingly tried to get him and his brother removed from Parmâl's forces, and on Idal, Alha's son, having on one occasion ridden one of the five celestial horses, named Bindulyá, Máhil Deva inflamed the mind of Parmâl against Idal, and, notwithstanding all representations of the boy's youth and consequent thoughtlessness, he expelled Alha and Udal from his kingdom.

They then went to Jaya Chandra of Kanauj, and took service under him. Jaya Chandra received them; but, being himself in dread of Alha, sent him on an expedition to Gánjardesa, which was nominally in his Raj, but the chiefs of which, Hirsing Deo, Birsing Deo, Byâs and Purán Deo, refused to pay tribute, and had defeated all the forces that Jaya Chandra had till then sent against them. Alha and Udal were accompanied by Lákhan, the nephew of the Raja. They conquered Gánjardesa, and Alha became a great favorite of Jaya Chandra, who assigned Ráykot (near or in Kanauj) as his residence, and conferred on him the title of Rai Sri Banáphar Alha, Rai Sri Chandel, Rai Sri Vyás.

Máhil Deva, after getting Alha expelled from Mahoba, entered into secret communication with Prithi Raj, and contriving in his capacity as minister to send Parmâl's forces on an expedition towards the south, informed Prithi Raj that the road to Mahoba was now clear.

Prithi Raj, who was at Sámbhar with a large army, immediately marched towards Mahoba, and first threatened Sirsa, or Sirwágarh, the Governor of which, Malkhán, sent pressing appeals for aid to Parmâl, but Máhil Deva persuaded Parmâl to reply lightly that, as he was Governor of Sirwá, he should defend it and drive out Prithi Raj, as, though the invasion was of such small moment that the Governor of a single district could hurl it back.

Malkhán, though greatly hurt at this supercilious reply,

nevertheless determined to do his utmost to resist. He despatched Puran Ját, one of his chiefs, to secure the ghat near Gwalior, and prepared his forces to oppose Prithi Raj.

Prithi Raj had many brave commanders, all relatives of his own; the names of some of them have been preserved, Janjhan Ráy, Kaimach Ráy, sons of Someswar, brothers of Prithi Raj; Harwal Sing and Mardán Sing, sons of Prithi Raj; Jangi Ray, Dimbhá Ray, Náhar Deo and Nahar Pál, Dhándu Ráy and Cháwand Ráy (Chohat Mal), commanders of the right and left. Prithi Raj at last advanced up to Sirwágarh, reaching it in 12 days from Sambhar; he attacked it three times, and was repulsed, the third time with the loss of Dimbhá Ráy. At that time there appears to have been no ravines about Sirwágarh, and the expression "*kos bharé Sirsá-ke-kachár gyo parke thá bharat se*" shews that nearly a kos of level land then intervened between the fort and the *kachár* or steep bank of the river Pahoj.

A last great battle was fought, when Malkhán with desperate courage sallied forth to attack Prithi Raj himself in his camp. The battle raged all night, and Malkhán was killed when 2½ dands were left of the night, but his headless body fought on and repulsed Prithi Raj. On the morrow, Sirwágarh submitted, and Malkhán's wife became a Sati, giving over her husband's command to his brother Alkhán with Prithi Raja's approval. Prithi Raj then advanced unopposed, and sat down with a detachment near Mahoba, which, however, appears to have been entirely undefended by any works; the main body of his troops being encamped at Basráhi near Jalâlpur on the Betwá River.

The cause of Prithi Raj not at once putting an end to the war by taking Mahoba is explained by the circumstance that he wanted the Pâras stone (a stone said to convert whatever it touched into gold), which Parmâl was said to have in his possession, and also the horse Hirnágar, one of the five celestial steeds. When Prithi Raj encamped near Mahoba, Máhil Deva, after an interview with him, informed Parmâl that Prithi Raj wanted the Pâras stone and the horse Hirnágar. Parmâl sent away his sons Brahmájit and Ranâjit to Kálanjar; he and his wife implored aid at the shrine of Manyá Devi, and finally determined to ask Alhá for his assistance. Jagnáyak Bhát was accordingly despatched on Hirnágar to Kanauj. Máhil Deva at once informed Prithi

Raj of the circumstance, who thereupon set guards to intercept Jagnáyak and obtain the coveted horse. Jagnáyak took the road to Kálpi, but was stopped at Baswári, or Basot, north of Mahoba between two hills; he, however, with his celestial steed leaped over his enemies, and proceeded on until overtaken by night at Korhat across the Jamna, where he halted as the guest of Ráybhán, Raja of the place, having halted *en route* only to water his horse at Bandhor on the Bermá River and crossing the Betwá at Kánákhera ghat (below Basráhi).

The Raja, however, though he entertained his guest hospitably, determined to keep the rich saddle which adorned Jagnáyak's horse, and accordingly in the morning refused to give it up, and Jagnáyak vowing vengeance went to Kanauj.

There he was received with warm cordiality by Alha and Udal, and related to them the whole story of Parmál's misfortunes, and ended by giving him Parmál's and his wife's imploring message for aid.

Alha, however, refused to aid Parmál, partly on the ground of his having been mercilessly turned out of his dominions, and partly on the ground that he was now a servant of Jaya Chandra, bound to him by considerations of gratitude, and could not leave his service.

Then Jagnáyak tried to rouse his indignation, and told him that Prithi Raj had cut the band of Ráhilya Tál which had been constructed by his father Dasaratha, and was practising gymnastics in his, Alha's, *akhada*; this effectually roused Alha's indignation; and his wife also coming forward and impressing on him that a Rájput's duty bound him not to shrink from danger, Alha went to Jaya Chandra, and, relating the whole circumstances, demanded leave to go. Jaya Chandra refused, whereupon Alha became very angry, and told him, that by the conquest of Gánjardesa he had repaid his obligation to him, and that now he would go whether Jaya Chandra liked it or not. Jaya Chandra, however, assured him on this that he was not in earnest, and that he would allow him to go, not alone, but with an army. Alha accordingly started with an army, which contained, among others, the following chiefs: Ráypál Ráhtore, Lákhan and Ráná Golál, nephews of Jaya Chandra; Bijádhar; the three refractory but subdued chiefs of Gánjar; the chief Bárisál Byás, and his son Jagat Ráy from Gánjar; Mira Tálan; Rákho Ráy, Raja of Sáhi (Supa ?), a Rájput; Ráo Raja of Narwar; and several others, altogether thirty-two chiefs.

On their way, Jagnáyak related the treachery of the Raja of Korhat, who thereupon was attacked, but submitted, restoring the saddle, and accompanied Alha's army. A refractory chief, Singhá, a Parwár (?), was also subdued on the way and accompanied Alha as *Haroli* (*i. e.*, in the van of the army).

Mira Tálan was a Muhammadan formerly in the service of the Raja of Mahoba, but who had since entered Jaya Chandra's service; he and Alha's father, Dasaratha, had exchanged turbans, which is a sign of the most intimate friendship. Alha accordingly regarded him in the light of a father, and Alha's mother Devá Devi as a husband. At Mahoba he had much admired the site on the top of the steep isolated hill north of the Kirat Ságar, which now contains ruins of a tomb, but which the "*Raisa*" says then had a temple (and remains of which exist, converted to a Muhammadan tomb to this day). When starting, he made Alha promise that if he should die during the war, his body should be buried on that hill in the spot occupied by the temple. The tomb there is therefore his, for he did die in this war, though no mention is made of the disposal of his body.

Meanwhile Parmál had concluded a truce with Prithi Raj, and the two were *in statu quo*, Prithi Raja's main army continuing at Basráhi. When news of Alha's advance reached the Delhi forces, Dhándu Ráy advanced and secured all the crossings from Hamirpur to Táli Ban Mohár, forty-two *ghats*, or fords, across the Betwa.

Alha's troops crossed the Jamna at Kálpi, then took Gárágarh and Hamirpur, and at last came to Kánákhera ghat to cross, but were prevented by a flood in the river, which lasted several days. Behri Khoprá was the village where they halted waiting for the subsidence of the floods to cross. Dhándu Ráy at the same time kept watch on the other bank. Bheri Khoprá is marked now on the Atlas Sheet as Paraito (Behea).

While waiting for the subsidence of the flood, amusements were got up, and the chiefs one night all assembled in Lákhan Rána's tent to witness a natch; meanwhile, news of this reached Dhándu Sing, who guarded the fords for Prithi Raja. He, finding that the flood had gone down just sufficiently to render a crossing possible, though with great danger, crossed in the utmost silence with a chosen body of troops, and fell suddenly on the assembled throng in Lákhan Rána's tent.

All but Lákhan Rána fled; he made a gallant stand with his handful of troops, but was nearly overpowered.

During the flight which continued till the fugitives reached Baggi, 4 kos from Kana Kherá, Devá Devi, Alha's mother, after vainly trying to stop Tálan Mirá and Alha in their flight, ordered her dooly to be set down, and getting out desired Tálan Mirá to enter the dooly, and give her his sword and shield; for though *he* fled, *she* disdained to fly. The verses containing her indignant reproaches are forcible, and cannot be listened to without strong emotion. This had the effect of stopping the flight. Alha and Mirá Tálan returned, and repulsed Dhándu Ráy; finally the army reached Mahoba; but as a truce existed between Parmâl and Prithi Raj for a year, all hostile operations were suspended. Prithi Raj went to Delhi, having previously agreed that, at the end of the year, during which each party was to prepare for the final battle, it should be fought on open ground, which from natural configuration should give no advantage to either party, and the vast plain about Orai was fixed upon as the final battle ground.

As the time approached when the final battle was to be fought, the armies of both sides encamped near each other at Orai. Parmâl and his chiefs went to review the army; one of the encamping grounds of Parmâl's forces was the present Moháná village on the Betwá; it is now situated in a mass of ravines, but must once have been level ground; four small towers, two of which yet exist entire about a mile apart, are said to mark the four corners of the encamping ground; the towers are, however, cylindrical, of rubble and mortar, domed over, so that they cannot be Parmâl's towers.

When the forces assembled, the two Rajas repaired to their respective camps. Parmâl, however, appears to have been chicken-hearted, for, on seeing the enemy's preparations, he entreated Alha to escort him to Kálinjar, and, notwithstanding all Alha's and other chiefs' entreaties to him to remain and animate his troops, he not only refused to stay, but refused to allow any one but Alha himself to escort him into Kálinjar. The curse of Indra, too, recurred to him, and he insisted on Alha riding some other horse, not one of the five celestial horses. The result was that Alha did accompany Parmâl into Kálinjar mounted on an uncelestial horse; but, before he could return to command his troops, the battle had been fought, and Parmâl's troops

annihilated. Seeing this, furious with rage, Alha drew his magic sword to destroy Prithi Raja's army; but his arm was arrested by Devi, the Devi Sáradá, who is worshipped at Mahiyar now. At her entreaty, he consented to sheathe his sword if Prithi Raj would turn and fly seven paces. Prithi Raj is stated to have done so by tradition. Alha then disappeared; but he is not dead yet, and many are the legends regarding his occasional appearance to various people, and his regular visits on the last day of the moon to Devi Sáradá's temple on the hill at Mahiyar, where he has been repeatedly seen and followed; but at a stern command to desist from following him, none of the men, who are said at various times to have attempted following him, ventured to advance, and he was allowed to disappear. Tradition gives also a different version, namely, that he daily worships this Devi Sáradá and adorns her with garlands of flowers, and that all efforts of people to find out when the statue receives its garlands of fresh flowers fail, and however early they may go to the temple, Devi Sáradá's statue is to be found adorned with fresh flowers. When I was at Mahiyar, I went to the hill with the first streak of light; the Brahmans were all down below at the foot of the hill; the ascent is by long steps of evenly split stone and very fatiguing. Without resting to hear the importunities and traditions of the men at the foot, I went straight up, fatiguing though it was, without stoppage, and found the image adorned with the shrivelled flowers of the previous day. Leaving the statue, I went round examining other things, and, when I returned within half an hour to the statue, it had fresh garlands!

The exact site of the battle ground between Prithi Raj and Parmál's forces is unknown. Most people consider the immediate vicinity of Orai as the place; but as there was, till lately, a pillar at Akori (ten miles south-east of Kunch, and fourteen miles west by a little south of Orai), said to have been a *jayastambha*, and to the site of which, marked now by a nim tree (the pillar itself no longer exists), pilgrimages are still made, *it* is most probably the site of the last great battle.

This supposition is confirmed by the fact that at Kunch are several remains, among which a pond and a small pillared hall on its banks are ascribed to Cháwand Ráy, one of Prithi Rajá's chief commanders. As the digging of a tank and building of a pavilion are not likely to have been thought of during active operations, they must have been dug and built

during the year's truce, when Cháwand Ráy, certainly with his wing, and probably with the whole army, remained encamped near Kunch. The positions of the opposing armies during the latter part of the truce would have been Mohánà and Kunch, and it is worthy of note that the proposed battle field at Akori is in the straight line from Kunch to Mohánà, as though the two armies had marched direct towards each other until they met at Akori.

Akori is now a small village in a vast, dead-flat country; the whole district of Orai is in fact a dead flat, except for some miles on either side of the rivers which pass through it. No military operations which can answer Chand's description of the great battle can or could have been carried on near the banks of the Betwa, cut up as it is with ravines; the battle must have been fought on open ground, as it was a trial of sheer strength, and Akori fulfils all the necessary conditions.

In the Alha, as it is sung, are several additions and "improvements" to the more interesting passages, and a great deal more life and vividness is imparted to the story. One couplet especially deserves mention as having allusion to the eight traditionally great forts of the Mahoba Rajas: it is this—

"Alha ke dam se, Khajurágarh hai
Āth Kot Kálanjar Gáon haio"

which may be translated thus—

"On Alha's breath (life) depends (the existence of) Khajuráhágarh, of the eight (chief) forts, and of Kálanjar."

Hence it would appear that, though history makes no mention of Khajuráhá as a fortified place, national song has preserved the memory of its fort, whatever it may have been. In connexion with this point, I refer to General Cunningham's Reports, Volume II, plate xcv, where the oblong A B C D marks a spot which for some distance consists of high ground, and which may have been a small fort of no strength; the text I see contains no allusion to this space A B C D marked on the plate.

The eight great forts of the Chandel Rajas are said to have been Bárigarh, Kálanjar, Ajaygarh, Manyágarh (near Rájgarh), Marphá (6 or 8 kos north-west of Kálanjar according to tradition. I cannot find it on the map; but probably Marwa, about 18 miles nearly due south of Bárigarh, near a group of three isolated hills, is the place; it is about 35 miles west by a little north of Kálanjar), Maudhá (on road Hamirpur

to Bándá), Kálpi and Garhá (near Jabalpur); some vary the list by substituting Mahiyar for Kálpi. Of these, Kálanjar is well known; Ajaygarh and Manyágarh will be described further on; Bárigarh is incidentally noticed by General Cunningham, but is worth careful scrutiny. Maudhá and Marphá have not been described, Garha has been described and will be further noticed below. Mahiyar will be noticed below. Kálpi, I am not aware, possesses a fort.

In the poem, Bándhogarh is noticed incidentally, its Baghel king Sangrámsi having married Parmál's daughter Chandráwal. A fight at Supá is also noticed, where Cháwand Ráy encountered, and, defeating the Dekkan troops of Parmál, who had returned under Dáni Rai, Dewán, Alha's nephew, planted his standard.

I shall pass over the groups of fragments usually collected under village trees, as they generally possess no interest, noticing only the remarkable ones.

At Ráwatpur, about 10 miles north of Ráát on the Parwan nálá, are the remains of a small fort, the lower portion of rubble, the upper of brick and rubble. As it stands, the fort is ascribed to the Panná Rajas; but it is evident that the Panná Rajas only repaired or rebuilt an older structure, for the foundations of the fort, so far as can be seen, are quite distinct in material and in construction to the superstructure. Lying near the fort, under a pipal tree, is a long slab, the top lintel, evidently of a doorway, ornamented in the centre, with a statue seated in the conventional attitude of Buddha, with crossed legs and hands in the lap; on both sides of it are two rows of smaller figures, twenty-three in the upper row, exclusive of the centre figure, which, from its being apparently naked, I conclude to be one of the twenty-four Jain Hierarchs.

Ráát contains two ancient-looking Bárakhaṁbas or twelve-pillared halls, both roofless, which the Muhammadans claim as theirs, while the Hindus as stoutly maintain them to be Hindu. Of the pillars, the bases, capitals and shafts correspond, and are apparently in their proper positions; but close examination shews that the capitals are not all of the same size. The remains of the brick dome which once crowned each of these shews indisputable signs of having been built after the Muhammadan conquest, and the existence of two carved stones, the lower sills of the entrances of Hindu temples, among the stones forming the present basement, proves that they are built out of older

Hindu temples. Tradition derives the name of Ráát from Raja Bárat, who is said to have received the place in jaghir from Akbar. Ráát possesses a fine large lake (Ságar Tal) besides several smaller ones, adorned with extensive pakha ghats. Just outside the city some temples are now in course of construction; one just finished contains impressions of the *charan* of a modern saint (Gosain Sita Patri), which is much reverenced by the people.

At *Rorá* or Roro is a small mound with a small ruined temple on the summit; the temple is a square cell surmounted by a dome on low neck, of the style of Shir-Sháh as seen in Delhi. The cell has stone pillars at the corners and at the centres of three sides, and the door-posts are also of stone; the dome rests on architraves, some carved in the peculiar Chandel style common in the Chandel districts, and others plain; some of the pillars, too, are carved; others plain. As it stands, the structure cannot be very ancient; but it is evidently built of the materials of a more ancient one, and the statues inside are probably old; the principal one is a large lingam, a Ganeça and his rat, and four bas-reliefs, one of a goddess on a peacock, one of Párvati on a bull, and one of a two-armed female with two smaller figures on two sides. Outside the temple is a fragment, representing a four-armed female with a garland round her neck; the others are mutilated and indistinct.

From Ráát the road to Mahoba goes *viá* Roro and Charkheri. Between Roro and Charkheri is a small village with a very picturesque, isolated, bare, rocky hill, surmounted by a square rubble cell; the cell is not any way remarkable, and is attributed to a Gosain who lived there not long ago.

At Gurahri near Charkheri are mines of soapstone clumsily and wastefully worked; there are in the village some old statues, one of them located in a small earthen and rubble hemispherical cell, about 6 feet in diameter.

Charkheri is a beautiful city with its antique fort, its whitewashed temples plentifully scattered all over the suburbs, its beautiful sheets of water with their neatly built revetements, its fine, broad, well-metalled roads, its fine groves, and last, the tall, slender minars of a modern Muhammadan masjid. The fort is very weak, and can be easily commanded from the adjacent hills and from other parts of the very hill of which it occupies a part; but it is antique in appearance, and massive to look at; all here are said to be modern. The road from beyond Charkheri to Mahoba is

very picturesque, winding between hills, some green with vegetation, others red with bare rock, contrasting beautifully with the green hills.

Mahoba has been so fully noticed by General Cunningham as to leave little to describe. In the city I found a Jain statue of black stone, the pedestal of which was inscribed, and mentioned the name of Dasaratha; if this be the Dasaratha mentioned in the "*Raisa*" as Alha's father, he must have been a Jain by religion.

The fort of Mahoba, if fort it be, consists of a long wall running chiefly along the crest of the hills on the north bank of the Madan Ságar, and descending down its slope to the water at the two ends. The wall is built exclusively of fragments of older structures, some plain, some carved, and some simply rubble; no part of it can, as it stands, be, I think, ascribed to the Hindus.

The Kákrá Márh temple in the Madan Ságar, and the remains of a larger one on another island close to it, have been noticed by General Cunningham; he also notices the elephant statues lying in the water; but it appears to have escaped his observation that the elephants had riders, for, though none exist, their positions are distinctly indicated by the roughness on the back and on the neck, where the statues have been broken short off at the bases, while every other part of the elephant statue is smooth.

On the south bank of the Madan Ságar is a pillared hall, a very picturesque object from a distance. On examination, however, I come to the conclusion that it is a Muhammadan re-arrangement of a Hindu structure, as the pillars are not in their proper positions. Not far from it is a tall irregular stone, on which an inscription may once have existed; but the stone has been split, and the split piece is missing. On the existing portion, however, are the indistinct remains of one or two letters, as though the inscription once extended just to the edge of the existing portion.

Alha's *gili* has been noticed by General Cunningham. The legend regarding it is, that when Alha was playing at Ágrá (some say Mathurá), he hit his *gili* with the dandá (a stick used like a bat in cricket-playing) with such force that it alighted in his *akhadá* (or place of gymnastic exercises) in Mahoba; the stick he hit it with is stated to have been a larger shaft of stone, and to be still at Ágrá or Mathurá. I could hear of no stone shaft answering the

description when I passed through Mathurá and Ágrá. As, however, the "*Raisa*" says that Prithi Raj amused himself in Alha's *akhadá*, which, if it be the level ground about Alha's *gili* as stated by tradition, is under the very walls of the present fort of Mahoba, it is clear that in Prithi Raja's time no fort existed, or he would not have been able to amuse himself in the *akhadá*.

The beautiful tanks at Mahoba have been noticed by General Cunningham. As the islands on which the temples Kákrámarh and the ruined one were built appear, so far as I could examine them, to be artificial, it is probable that the Madan Ságar was formed subsequent to the building of the templs. The age of the temples, therefore, cannot be posterior to Madana Varmma, but may be much anterior, although the probabilities are that they were built and the tank formed by the same King.

On the banks of the Kirat Ságar is a steep bare hill crowned by ruins; these ruins must once have been temples; now a Muhammadan grave occupies the site. From Chand it may be inferred that the grave is that of Mirá Tálan, one of the warriors who came with Alha to assist Parmâl.

Round Mahoba at short distances are to be seen occasionally ruins and fragments; some of colonnades still standing, some mere mounds; they are all traditionally known as Parmâl's *baythaks*, or Alha's *baythaks*. A modern white-washed Muhammadan *idgah* occupies a conspicuous position on a high hill in approaching Mahoba from the north-west; it probably occupies some ancient Hindu site, though tradition is silent regarding it.

The masjid in Mahoba itself is formed entirely of Hindu fragments. It is an irregular rambling building, with no pretensions to architectural or antiquarian interests.

The modern shrines are equally unworthy of notice.

The shrine of Manyá Devi is reported to be very ancient. It is possible the rude figure carved on a projecting boulder of the hill itself, on the slope of which the shrine is built, is ancient; but the pillars, &c., forming the structure are all a modern re-arrangement, and so ignorant were the masons who built it, that they have not been able to recognize the tops from the bottoms of the pillars, but have in several cases inserted them upside down.

Parmâl's traditional palace on the top of the hill, at the north-east end of the range along which the so-called fort

walls run, is now a Muhammadan masjid. Here, too, the pillars are not *in situ*, so that it is doubtful if the structure was a palace at all. I am rather of opinion that it was a temple converted as usual to a Muhammadan masjid when the Muhammadans took the place.

The Ráhilyá temple stands on the banks of the Ráhilyá Tál, near Ráhilyá village. Chand says the tank was formed by Dasaratha, Alha's father; if so, the tank must be much later than the temple. Supposing this but to have been constructed by Ráhilyá Varmma, I can find no reasonable grounds for ascribing the tank to Dasaratha, Alha's father. Indeed, it is impossible that the tank can be later than the temple which is built on its raised embankment; if, then, the tank was made by Dasaratha, the temple cannot date back to any earlier period; but the only authority for the assertion, tradition and Chand, are utterly unreliable. A discussion of the age of the temple, on architectural considerations, I reserve for a future paper, when I expect to possess ampler materials for such a discussion than I now possess.

About 10 or 11 miles north-east of Mahobá is a small village, Makárbai. It possesses many remains, one, a large pillared hall, now below the level of the adjacent country from accumulation of rubbish, is called Parmál's Baythak, fragments of innumerable statues and sculpture, but of no particular interest, abound in the place. It also possesses a large tank ascribed to the Chandel Kings, and there is a small, but very beautiful, temple of a unique type, possessing three, instead of one, sanctum; the central sanctum is apparently dedicated to Buddha, as a seated human figure, in the well-known attitude, is to be seen on the centre of the door lintel over the entrance; one of the others is equally clearly dedicated to Siva. I could not ascertain to whom the third was dedicated, the figure being mutilated: an accumulation of fully six feet, and possibly more, of rubbish hides the mouldings of the basement of this singular temple, and its confined situation precludes the possibility of obtaining a photograph of it, but it is so singular, being the only one of its kind I have met with in the whole of my tour, that I intend to revisit the place and examine it more carefully.

No objects of interest appeared on the road from Mahobá to Nowgong; from Nowgong, however, on the road to Chhatarpur is the large old city of Maú, here are many

remains, but all traditionally dating back only to Chhatar Sál. One, a small temple on the highest peak of the hills, is said to have been built by Raja Chhatar Sál over a favorite dog; this some people assert to have been only the epithet by which one of the Raja's favorite advisers was known. The massive walls of the old fort still exist, but in ruins; the scenery is strikingly beautiful as one approaches it from Nowgong; but on passing beyond the gorge cut through the hill for the present road from Nowgong to Satná (which, so far as completed, is very good), the scenery becomes commonplace. In the vicinity of Maú are several tanks; one to the south-east has very extensive ruins along its banks in the late Mughal style, and at the south-west end of the tank is a mausoleum with a dome covered with blue-glazed tiles and otherwise ornamented with colored tiles which forms a very attractive object of visit. Unfortunately, a near examination of it by no means confirms the idea of its beauty and magnificence as seen from a distance; the ornamentation is in the tawdry superficial style of the later Muhammadan buildings; the tomb is ascribed to Chhatar Sál's queen; the ruined palace is said to have been her residence or mahal. Many are the legends regarding treasure buried in this vast labyrinth of ruins, which appears to have once been defended by a wall connected with the walls of the great fort. Its situation is very romantic, notwithstanding the fact of the tank, on whose bank it stands, being now for the most part choked up with weeds: another tall tomb, said to be of Chhatar Sál himself, but crowned with a spire of the Hindu form, appears far away south of the tank. I did not examine it.

Chhatarpur is a very large city, with good wide roads and numerous pakka houses; the approach to it from Nowgong is rendered very beautiful by multitudes of small brick and plaster chhatris, which adorn both sides of the road for about a mile; they are all modern, and built in the late Indo-Mughal style, if I may coin a word to express the combination of late Mughal and Hindu features; though devoid of interest archæologically, they are nevertheless very pretty, for the most part well built, neatly ornamented with plaster ornamentation, and generally in good preservation.

At Chhatarpur are some tanks, the principal one of which has a pakka stone ghat, the whole length of one side and part of another; on the banks stands a modern temple of Mahâdeva, where several females are always in attendance.

The ghat is built of large squared stones, which must have belonged to some temple; it shows that Hindus are by no means scrupulous in using the materials of their old temples for other purposes. The name Chhatarpur is said to have been derived from Chhatar Sál, who is said not to have founded, but to have first made the place one of importance; before his time it is said to have been a small village.

From Mahobá to Jaytpur, near Kulpahâr, there is a fair road. At Kulpahâr are several modern temples, idgas and masjids, and the ruins of a palace on a hill: the palace is said to have been destroyed during the mutiny by the British The banks of the large tank south of Kulpahâr are ornamented with numerous temples and houses; a stone ghat runs along the embankment with platforms and shrines at intervals · close to the tank, on the opposite side, stands an isolated octagonal structure on a small mound, the tomb of some Muhammadan; it must have once been very beautiful, and is still picturesque, though ruined: no ancient remains, however, exist except an occasional fragment of a statue.

At Jaytpur are several modern temples, some still unfinished, and the remains of a fort, which tradition ascribes to the Maharatha period, and which is said to have been destroyed by the British during the Maharatha war. Scattered about in the town are numberless dressed granite stones, with carvings, similar in design and execution to the carvings at Mahobá and Rorá; they are undoubtedly very ancient, most probably of the Chandel period, but no traditions exist that I could hear of regarding them. Innumerable similar stones are also built into the walls of the fort and of the buildings within it, rendering it impossible to doubt that here, in former times, must have existed many ancient structures of the same style and period as those at Mahobá.

On the western edge of the large tank at Jaytpur, there runs a chain of several low hills, rocky and steep on the land side, but less so on the tank side; along the crest of the northmost of these is built a strong loop-holed wall, in the usual style of Indian rubble and mortar forts. This wall runs down at the northern end, along a spur of the hill that juts into the tank; the spur, after jutting out of the hill into the tank, in a direction perpendicular to the line of the chain, for a distance of about 500 feet, turns back southwards, and runs in this new direction, parallel to the main chain, for about 800 feet, thus including on three sides

a small sheet of water that forms, as it were, an arm from the tank: along this ridge the fort walls run down to the lake, the end being formed into a massive tower rising sheer out of the water, but now in ruins. At the corners of the wall are other strong towers rising boldly out of the water. The spur that connects the main chain of hills with the small ridge in the tank running parallel to it, appears to be artificial.

At the south end, the walls run down the declivity of the first hill of the chain to the water, ending in a ghat; this is the weakest point of the fort, and subsequently, judging from the style of construction, an extension was made on this side by the addition of a sort of outwork, connected with the main fort at its south end, and carried along the ridge of the next hill up to its summit. Thence it goes perpendicularly down towards the tank in a slight curve, forming at its southern end a figure like the nook at the northern end, but far smaller and far less decided; a massive tower rising sheer out of the water terminates it at this end as at the other, the entire fort and outwork being like the letter E. I am thus minute in describing the fort, as this form is unusual and very peculiar. The Mahobá fort is somewhat of this form, and so is that at Irich. In the fort here are palaces and other buildings situated in the space between the walls and the edge of the tank; the buildings must have been very extensive, and subterranean passages from the mahal to the edge of, and into, the tank, exist in several places to this day; these must have been designed for the use of the ladies. From the style of the buildings inside I cannot ascribe to this fort an age much prior to the Maharatha period, but it is certainly earlier than the usual run of Maharatha structures; it appears that the outwork noticed above was afterwards added, and, if one may judge by the Muhammadan tombs, &c., that occur in this portion alone of the fort, by the Muhammadans, after they had probably proved the weakness of the south end of the main fort by capturing it themselves.

The entire fort has, or rather had, three gates; the East or North-East, or Supa gateway, the Majha gateway and the Khirki gateway, which two last, however, are smaller: immediately inside the present Supa gateway, there still exists a gateway of much more ancient date, in which no archway is used, but massive architraves only. This gateway had its floor level higher than the floor level of the present gateway

(which is however lower down the hill), and is in no way connected either with it, or with the palaces and other structures inside; traces of a wall connecting it with some point near the corner of the present fort may, however, be detected; from the style of its construction, I consider it Hindu, and I would call it of the Chandel period if only I were certain that the Chandels used mortar in building their forts; on the doorposts of this gateway are inscribed ㅠ ज.

Remembering, however, the innumerable dressed stones of the Chandel period that still exist in and out of the fort, a high degree of probability attaches to the supposition that Jaytpur was at that time a place of considerable importance, and that the gateway which exists is the gate of the original Chandel fort There is no fort at Mahobá, and there never was one in the Chandel period, as I shall show subsequently, for the simple reason that the situation is not a strong one; here, however, the situation is naturally strong, and I think it highly probable that the Chandel Rajas did take advantage of this natural strength of the position, and fortified it accordingly.

The large tank is ascribed to the Chandels; it is called *Ságar Tál.*

From Jaytpur to Panwári *viá* Bharwari and Kilowán, there is a fair road. At Danui is a Jain temple, with a colossal image of one of the Hierarchs standing; it is inscribed. On a low hill, not far off, there are the remains of a Saivic temple supported on pillars, one storey high only. I will revert to these subsequently.

At Panwári there is nothing worth noticing.

From Panwári across the country to Rampur temple, the road is very bad. The site marked Rampur temple on the Indian Altas Sheet has indeed a temple, but it is a small whitewashed modern affair about six feet square, on a bare low rock, visible for a great distance all around, and doubtless very useful as a landmark, but of absolutely no interest whatever. The name Rampur on the map close to it should be Raypur: on another small clump of rocks is a small Maharatha fort, now in ruins.

From Raypur to Gursarái the road is fair; there is nothing ancient at Gursarái. The fort of the Raja, on a small deep tank, with its walls washed by the waters of the tank, and its houses peeping over the lofty walls, is very picturesque; both tank and fort date only from the Maha-

ratha period; the other structures in Gursarái are still more modern.

About four miles east of Gursarái and half a mile off the road, there is a cluster of twelve villages, called Sirwa Baron; of these, a few only are named on the map; in the midst of these villages, which are all situated close to each other at the foot of a clump of hills, are two tanks, called Amar Tál and Ráy Tál. Both are ascribed to the Chandels; on the banks of Ráy Tál is a great roundish boulder with an inscription; the face of the stone has not been properly smoothed, and the stone itself has suffered from the weather, and peeled off in parts; the inscription accordingly is only partially legible, but occasional letters and words can be made out; the date, however, is in good order, but I regret that I forgot to note it down; it is as recent as the seventeenth century of the Samvat; the roughness of the stone prevented me from getting a clear impression.

At the upper end of Ráy Tál stands a ruined temple of dressed stone; it is a mere heap of ruins, but the chamber inside is still entire, and one may peep in through the crevices; if cleared, this inner chamber would probably be entire; it appears, however, that the Muhammadans have to answer for the destruction of the temple, as one of their style of rubble-built towers exists still at one corner of the mass of ruins, showing that it once was converted to Muhammadan purposes. The following couplets are recited regarding a treasure said to be buried here:—

"Marh dewal ki chháye	"Marh dewal ki chháye
Ráy táláb ki pár	Ráy táláb ki pár
Garhi sánkro pare	Jab kab sánkro pare
Daolat le ukhár	Jab jamá le ukhár."

"In the shadow of the 'Marh Dewal,' across the Ráy Táláb (or on the side of Ráy Táláb) when distress comes on (you) dig up and take the (buried) treasure."

According to the usual style of these temples, this Marh Dewal could not have been much less than 100 feet in height to the top of its pinnacle, when entire.

No inscription or other tradition regarding it exists.

Close by, but separated from it by the spur of one of the hills running along an edge of the tank, there is another temple; of this, the entrance is still standing, and forms a striking object in that wild solitary spot. It also is in the old Hindu style; massive architraves, supported by pillars with bracket capitals; the stones are held together by iron

cramps, all are dressed, and many carved into easy geometric patterns. This was a Saivic temple, as a large lingam with its *arghá* lie amidst the ruins, and the floor at one part has been cut into a form to fit the arghá, which, therefore, must have once been fixed into it.

In neither of these temples does there appear to have been used any mortar whatever, and the material (which is granite) and workmanship of both are similar; there can be no doubt therefore that both belong to the Chandel period.

On a rock close to the second temple is cut a statue of Devi, and near it a line of inscription records the name of the sculptor; it is of recent date, as the characters are similar to those of the dated inscription on the boulder near Ráy Tál.

On a rocky mound to the south of Ráy Tál is a Bára-dari of rubble and mortar. I would have called it Muhammadan from its style of construction; but the disposition of the chambers, a hall surrounded by a verandah, and having at one end a chamber, with only one door and no windows, leads me to suppose it to have been a Hindu structure built during the Muhammadan ascendancy; in this I am confirmed by an inscription on the rock on which it stands, from which, although much injured by the weather, I gather that a Sati was once performed here. The inscription bears no date, and is in modern characters, and similar to the dated inscription on Ráy Tál; for the same reasons that prevented a copy of the first inscription, I have been unable to obtain a copy of this one.

Perched on top of one of the hills, there is a small shrine of no particular interest; it has a bulbous dome, which of itself settles the question as to its antiquity.

From Gursarái to Irich there is a good road; in Irich are several ancient remains, but all used up into Muhammadan structures. I will begin with the Jámi Masjid.

This masjid is a fine specimen of its kind (see plan), and consists of a group of small domes round a large central one; the domes are all supported on massive pillars, formed by building up a square pillar of rubble, with old Hindu pillars at the four corners. The result is a very massive square low column: the same system of building is employed in the cloisters, all edges, having a Hindu pillar inserted, or built in, as a facing; the general appearance is good. The central hall, from its size, height, and the evident massiveness of all constructive details, produces a

striking effect: the domes are all hemispherical, with, perhaps, the slightest possible inclination towards a bulge; these domes are crowned by foliated caps of enormous size, which make the form of the domes unpleasing: the colors used are red, blue, yellow, and green; the arches are of stone and brick, as also the walls. An inscription is let into the wall on the left of the main arch, and the people (Muhammadans) claim for it an antiquity of 600 years. I must, however, observe that, notwithstanding all that the inhabitants make the inscription assert, this masjid, as it stands, cannot date back beyond the late Mughal period. The attempt to make it old is very clever, but not quite successful.

Regarding the building alone, apart from its domes, the style of construction of the smaller rooms or galleries would lead me to ascribe it to a time somewhat posterior to Firuz Sháh. I have found from the examples at Delhi that the style of building became more and more massive, up to the early Mughal period, when a change for the contrary set in: beginning with the thin pillars used in the Kutb, we gradually trace the increase of massiveness, through the Khirki Masjid, to the Malcha Palace, which, as far as I can recollect at present, has the most massive pillars of the entire series, in conjunction with some minor details, which show that it could not have long preceded the early Mughal, or rather Shir Sháh's style. The pillars of the masjid here are, however, more massive than any I have yet seen, and of themselves would lead me to place them towards the very end of the Pathân style of architecture.

But on going into the central hall, the first points which attract notice are the ribbed dome and the pendentives; these last show a decided refinement over the styles of pendentives of the early Mughal period; for, though the old pendentives were similarly arched, they had no brackets underneath the arches, and looked as though something were wanting; in short, they did not satisfy the eye; here, on the contrary, the arches of the pendentives are supported by brackets rising in steps one over the other; and certainly present the finest and most complete style of making a pendentive that I have yet seen.

It appears clear, therefore, from an examination of the interior, that the building cannot date back farther than, say, the early Mughal or Shir Sháh's period.

But if we examine the domes externally, it will be seen that the building must be of even a much later period; for

although the domes have no bulge, yet they are ribbed, and have enormous foliated caps. This last is of itself enough to stamp them as belonging to the late Mughal period; no dome of a time previous to Shir Sháh has any cap; the early ones have occasionally lanterns, but never a cap; nor, indeed, do caps make their appearance till Shir. Sháh's period, when they were used of a very small size. Since then they have gradually enlarged until the maximum is attained in Safdar Jang's tomb; I do not indeed wish it to be understood that the masjid in question is of so late a period as Safdar Jang's time. In fixing the age of a building, especially in a provincial town, from the style of its architecture, or ornamentation, it is impossible to assign it to any special date with certainty; but I think that its date may, with careful consideration, be safely assigned within the limits of a century. It is with this latitude that I would ascribe its construction to the reign of Aurangzeb; the more so, as many of the Hindu shrines, which up to that time had escaped the fury and bigotry of the Muhammadans, were in his reign destroyed or converted to Muhammadan purposes; it is certain, however, that it could not have been built before the latter end of Akbar's reign (in the 47th year of whose reign the fort in which the masjid stands was taken by Akbar's orders), nor after the Bundela chiefs had successfully established their independence.

The present masjid has no gateway properly so-called, and the tombs that stand near it must have existed prior to the masjid itself. It is true the tombs are not dated, but as other tombs at Irich are traditionally ascribed to Syads, about 400 years ago, and as these appear from their style older than those near the masjid which have domes on low necks, they cannot be much older than 300 years; and the masjid, which evidently from its position was built after the tombs, must be still later. It is, however, possible that an older masjid was repaired and the enormous caps then added to the domes.

There are also other tombs, of which two, supported on twelve Hindu pillars each, form prominent objects in approaching the city There are also the remains of walls and gateways in the fort. The fort appears to have been originally built in the same style as the one at Jaytpur, but of squared stones, set without mortar, forming a facing to a rubble core, and *diminishing in steps* towards the top. Of the original Hindu fort, a fragment, namely, the portion jutting

into and recurving in the river, alone exists, the remainder of the walls and gates are all Muhammadan; tradition asserts that the lowest portion of the gateway, which is still sound, is Hindu, and I think it probable. But the Muhammadans, when they appropriated the place, appear to have discarded the Hindu design of the original fort, and to have built a fort enclosed on all sides; the walls on the land side being built, in all probability, along the remains of the original Hindu walls; and that on the river side being added by themselves, thus leaving out entirely the recurved portion of the original Hindu wall that juts into the river.

At present, even the Muhammadan walls are in ruins, as they were originally not massively built. These were probably erected during or after Akbar's reign; the fort of Irich, into which the assassin of Abul Fazl had been driven, as a last refuge, was besieged, the wall breached, and the fort taken by orders of Akbar in the 47th year of his reign (Blochmann's *Ain Akbari*, page 469), the present walls therefore are subsequent to this period; this account further shows that the fort was taken from the land side, which is really its weak side.

To the portion thus thrown out of the fort, whose original purpose has, in the lapse of time, been lost sight of, the people have attached a legend, that during the war of Râma at Lanka, his monkey allies were busily engaged in collecting loads of stone for the bridge across the channel; on the completion of his bridge, Râma sounded his conch to announce the fact that no more materials were needed, whereupon a monkey, who then happened to be passing over Irich, dropped his load, which now forms the mass of rocks at the bend of the river.

There were five gates as follows: 1, Nawe or river gate (Muhammadan and in ruins); 2, Mirá gate (Muhammadan and in ruins); 3, Ráát gate (said to be Hindu in lowest portions); 4, Golbir gate (nothing known of this gate); 5, Khirki gate (a postern leading into the river): two of the gates have inscriptions.

Among the pillars used up by the Muhammadans in their tombs, &c., are some with the peculiar Hindu block interposed, cutting up the length of the long pillars into two, and some into three portions.

The tombs, &c., are of no special interest.

Outside Irich is an enclosure (now ruined) called *Bandi chhor*. Tradition says that it was built by a rich Syad, and

that whoever managed to escape and take shelter within its walls, had his debts or fines imposed for crimes paid by the rich man, and released from liability to imprisonment; hence the name *Bandi chhor*. It is now overgrown with jangal.

The mass of wall at the river bend is called the Tori of Hiranyakasipu.

About four miles from Irich down the Betwa there is a hill called Dekoli; a great *méla* or fair is held here annually. Tradition says that here was the palace of Hirankus, or Hiranyakasipu: in the river just below is a deep kund; the story states that from the top of this hill, Hirankas caused his son Pahlâd or Parhlâd to be thrown into the river which here is bottomless. The marks of Pahlad's foot are shown on a rock, in an oblong hole 3" by 1½ or 2" wide. The story is to be found in the Vishnu Purâna, but popular tradition adds some interesting details. They say that Hiranyakasipu had obtained the gift of Brahma of not suffering death either in the night or in the day, either within a house or without; that after all his attempts to destroy his son had failed, Vishnu assumed the form of Narasinha to destroy him, and issuing out of a pillar in the hall, he fought with Hirankas till it was *evening* (*i. e.*, neither day nor night), when having dra ·ged him to the *threshold* of his palace (neither within nor without) he killed him. Tradition further says that the Narasinha form was human in all except the face and limbs, which were those of a lion!

I pass over the other Muhammadan tombs and masjids at Irich, as they are of no particular interest.

SIRSWAGARH.

From Irich to Sirswágarh, or Sirswá as the people call it, there is a very fair road. The ruins lie close to the river bank about one-fourth of a mile off the road, up stream, and on the west bank of the Pahoj River. No traditions exist about these ruins except that they are of very ancient date. They consist of an irregular pentagonal brick fort, built much in the style of the modern Maharatha forts, *i.e.*, a core of earth faced with brick; the walls are all in ruins, and in places almost level with the adjacent fields; the ravines, too, that once formed, probably, a substitute for a moat round the fort, have enlarged and eaten their way inside the walls, accordingly the ground inside, which I presume must have been level or nearly so, is now in many places a mass of ravines communicating with other ravines outside, and gradually increasing every year, so that, finally, the whole

place will be a perfect network of ravines, with isolated mounds at the towers, walls, and other spots, where pakka buildings existed; the earth is a loose, rich, sandy soil, dissolved, or rather rendered semi-fluid, with readiness by contact with water, and thus affording every facility for the increase of the ravines. It would be an interesting point to ascertain the rate of progress of ravines in different kinds of soil. I have found that on an average they advance about 3 or 4 feet with a depth of about 6 feet annually; but in soil so easily washed away, they would probably advance faster, although it is possible that, instead of advancing faster lengthways, they may increase in depth. I have already noticed that Chand places a kos of plain between the fort and the river bank.

Within the fort are three, or rather four, mounds, the fourth being doubtful. The largest of them appears at one time to have been converted to Muhammadan purposes, as traces of cloisters with the usual niche of the Mehrâb can be seen in the remains; the masjid, for such it must have been, appears to have been in the usual style of a main masjid proper, with a court-yard surrounded by cloisters. From the remains of stone statues, and dressed and undressed stones of large size which still exist, though few in number, I am inclined to suppose that one or more Hindu temples once existed here; this appears to have been a small Saivic temple, and from analogy I infer that the largest mound which now exhibits traces of a masjid was also once a Hindu temple, as well as each of the smaller mounds; these temples appear to have been of brick, the architraves, steps, and such other portions where brick was not applicable, being alone made of stones, some carved, some only smoothed, and some rough. The stones now scattered about are few in number. Among them are some that appear like pillars, and which I presume were door-posts, as there are not enough of these pillar-shaped stones to support even one dome.

The remains of statues that exist appear to be all Brahmanical. They are neatly worked in a fine-grained sandstone; and such fragments as have not been violently injured are still in excellent preservation.

From Sirswâgarh to Lahâr *viâ* Dubohi is a fair road. At Amohá on the road, near a tank, is a temple, which as it stands is modern, but which appears to be really ancient and repaired with a modern roof in the style of the dome over Humâyun's tomb; granite pillars of the plain pattern support the architraves and roof, formed in the usual Hindu method

of intersecting squares. The stones are all in their proper positions and of uniform style; it hence appears to me probable that the original Hindu temple, with its tall spire, having got injured or dilapidated in the upper part, the cell and lower portion being entire, they simply put on a modern dome over the sound portion of the structure; the supporting pillars are connected by walls that are modern, like the roof. The temple was Vaishnavic.

Near it is a *baoli*, in good order and neatly constructed, a bat or banyan tree has now grown into the walls of the temple and will soon cause its destruction.

At Láhár there is nothing of any interest except a Maharatha fort of the usual materials, namely, earth with brick facing, but larger in size than the general run of them, and possessing a ruined citadel; in the gateway the wooden architrave still exists, so the fort cannot be very old.

A number of modern temples in the usual style are scattered about, not worthy of any notice

From Lahár to Indurkhi is a fair road for the most part with nothing of note. At Indurkhi itself are the remains of a small fort with a citadel of brick of the ordinary pattern; on the river face the stream has cut away portions of the fort, and the earth now stands in cliffs, 80 feet high and more; one tower, attached at the farther end to the existing walls, hangs as it were suspended, the river having cut away the lower portion. Altogether the tall fort is a very striking and picturesque object; about the place there are several *chhatris* of modern date and of no special interest. Inside the fort there is an octagonal well, very deep, with an inscription slab which is quite inaccessible, but with a date which may be either 824 or 1824. The plate mentions the name of Mahârâja Adhirâja Gaja and of some Suryabansi Mahârâja whose name has peeled off

In the citadel are a number of buildings in the late Mughal or rather modern style, and a large circular well without any inscription. The date, 1824 Samvat, would not be out of keeping with the structures inside and the general style of the fort, whereas Samvat 824 would be completely at variance with the date deducible from the structure and style of the fort and of the buildings (ruins) inside. I consider, therefore, that the fort is of the Maharatha period.

At Indurkhi there are some *chhatris* with curved eaves and ridges to the roofs, like the thatched houses and curve ridged temples of Lower Bengal.

My route now starts afresh from Bhind, passes the river Sindh at Mehdághat (not marked on Indian Atlas Sheet) between Thaingur and Indurkhi, and crossing the Pahoj at Nadiyagaon goes on to Kunch.

At Kunch are a number of remains of the Hindu period in the shape of pillars, architraves, &c. Two domes on twelve pillars each are traditionally ascribed to the commanders of Prithi Ráj when he invaded Mahobá. There is also another dome, which, however, is said to be a Muhammadan tomb Near one of the old domes is a small pool called *Chorá Tál*, which is said to have been dug by Chorá or Chawand Ráy (Champat Ráy) one of the commanders in Prithi Rájá's army when he invaded Mahobá.

The domes, however, are all Muhammadan. The pillars are indeed Hindu, and so are the other stones used in the construction, but, as usual, they have all been misplaced by the Muhammadan builders; the roof, a brick dome, is of a style not anterior to the early Mughal period.

In the citadel at Kunch is the tomb of one Mahmud Sáh Ghazi. It was built during the Bundela ascendency between the Samvat years 1650 and 1803. This Mahmud Sháh is the reputed builder of the masjid at Irich (*vide* its inscription), and we thus obtain the clearest evidence regarding the age of the masjid at Irich.

Between Kunch and Orai, and to the south of the road, stands the small village of Akori, near which tradition says stood a *Jayt Khamb* or *Jayastambha*, or pillar of victory. The great and final battle between the forces of Parmâl Rájá and of Ráy Pithorá was fought on the plains of Orai, and certainly the extensive level plains between Kunch and Orai would, very likely, have been selected as the great battle ground between armies, each consenting to forego all advantages arising from the natural features of the country, and seeking a trial of sheer strength, not skill, for such indeed was the great battle near Orai, according to all accounts: at present a nim tree stands on the reputed site of the *Jayastambha*, and pilgrims still visit the place.

From Ráát to Danui is a fair road past Kaythá, where remains of the old cantonment buildings still exist, many in very good order, and looking not unlike the old Muhammadan remains about Delhi. The vaulted structures are still sound, and bid fair to last a long time.

DANUI.

At Danui are the ruins of a Hindu temple on a low hill half a mile off the road to the west, and of a Jain temple, with a colossal statue of Sethnâth (as the people call it) close to the road below the hill. The Hindu temple is in ruins, a few of the pillars alone standing *in situ*, and the accumulated rubbish prevents the plan of the temple from being accurately made out. There is, however, no doubt that it was in the form of a cross with the usual *Arddha mandapa*, *mandapa*, *mahamandapa*, *antarala*, and *grihagarbha*; the temple was Saivic; the Saivic emblem is still standing slightly moved from its original position. The peculiarity of the temple is that the roof does not appear to have been built in the usual style of intersecting squares or of overlapping stones, but by long stones laid across on the architraves, and entirely without ornament of any kind: the pillars are mostly plain, but the central ones are ornamented with four statues each, of females; and several of the engaged ones, probably those of the *mahamandapa*, had statues on the exposed faces; a few, however, of the pillars were also richly ornamented with other carvings. These are now on the ground, but I conjecture that they were the pillars at the entrance of the sanctum. The material is a coarse-grained hard granite.

It does not appear from an examination of the fragments lying about, that this temple had the usual forms of roof. The *griha garbha* may have had the tower roof, as the deeply indented circular stones, *amalakas*, which crowned the tower, lie in the ruins below; but the sanctum has now entirely disappeared, except portions of the lowest courses, and the *maha mandapa*, which alone has a roof now, is, as before noticed, covered by long flat stones over the architraves, entirely without ornament; over these there is another layer placed crosswise, but no traces of anything like a pyramidal roof over them, and I am inclined to think that this temple was flat-roofed with a tower over the sanctum alone, a mode of construction very unusual.

The basement mouldings of the temple are singularly beautiful, more so than those of the Mahobá temples.

The Jain temple is an oblong externally, divided into a portico and a sanctum; the floor of the sanctum is much lower than that of the portico, and steps once led down to it, though now the steps have been covered up, leaving a perpendicular fall, or jump from the floor of the portico to the floor of the sanctum.

The statue inside is of Sántanátha, as shown by the emblem of a pair of antelope cut on the pedestal. The pedestal is inscribed and bears a date in Samvat, the 13th century. The statue is mutilated, having had the arms cut off, and the minor statues on either side of it are also mutilated. Inside, the roof is formed of intersecting squares, supported by four engaged pillars at the corners of the cell. These pillars have the usual square block interposed, breaking up the height of the shaft into two portions. The outer pillars of the portico, however, are without the blocks. The roof is externally a flat cone, with a very slight bulge (see photograph), exactly like the domes over the corners and central pillars in the Kutb cloisters.

The date of this temple is fixed by the inscription.

Close to the temple are the remains of cloisters; these consist of rows of pillars of small height, supporting a flat roof formed by placing slabs over the architraves; the back is a dead wall, with engaged pillars; the front also is a plain wall with plain square openings at intervals; the roof is formed of three layers of slabs placed over each other crosswise. The floor is now covered with mud to the depth of about a foot, but when built, the roof could not have been more than seven feet above the floor; the row of free pillars in the centre consists of single pillars. It is probable that these cloisters were formerly more extensive; at present only a portion exists.

A *méla* or fair is held here annually, which lasts only one day.

KHAJURÁHÁ.

From Chhatarpur to Râjnagar there is nothing of any note. At Râjnagar is a fine large tank, on the Khajuráhá side of the city, with extensive stone ghâts, the stones forming which appear to have been taken from some old building; on the banks are several groups of well-executed statues; one, of a goddess, was remarkably good.

From Râjnagar the road goes over undulating country to Khajurahá. This place has been so fully described by General Cunningham that I have little to add to his account. Photographs of the various temples will convey a better idea of the magnificence of the superb temples of Khajuráhá than any description. A discussion of the architecture of the temples I reserve for a future paper.

Of all the roofs of the temples at Khajuráhá, that of the Kuär math on the banks of the Kurár nâlá is the most

beautiful. It is formed of overlapping stones ranged in successive circles, diminishing as they go upwards; but the lowest course is supported by figures of females, elegantly formed, resting on the corbelled capitals of the pillars. The stones forming the tiers of overlapping circles are beautifully carved; unfortunately, the roof has fallen in, and only a fragment of it now remains intact: but the little that does remain is enough to show that it must have been very beautiful when entire.

RAJGARH.

From Khajuráhá I went to Rájgarh. The modern town is said to have been founded by the ancestors of the present Rájás of Chhatarpur, and extensive buildings called the Mahal still exist in good order. They are avowedly recent and are in the usual prison-looking style of modern mahals, and of no interest. To the south and south-east of the modern place there runs a range of hills, on one of which, isolated from the rest, stands the remains of the old fort of Manyágarh, one of the traditional eight forts of the Chandel Rájás.

From the foot of the hill a flight of broad, easy steps leads up the hill to a holy place of Mahádeva, this contains nothing more than a natural spring; a number of lingams are set up in such positions that the water which constantly oozes out from clefts and pores of the overhanging rock falls on the lingams and down into a kund; besides the lingams there is a marble statue, representing a man clothed in a *dhoti*, which is said to be a statue of the Rájá who established the lingams. As the statue is in execution much like the modern ones seen in modern Jain temples occasionally, it cannot be very old, and was probably made by some of the petty chiefs whose descendants still rule the districts; it is respected, but not worshipped. The lingams, however, have daily offerings of flowers, &c., by an attendant Brahman.

The flight of steps terminates here; but ascending the best way one can to the top, are found the remains of massive walls of squared stone, well and closely set; these walls are in some places exclusively of squared stone, finely joined, in others of squared and unsquared stones, and sometimes merely of rubble; no mortar has been used in any case; the walls surround the flat table-land at the top of the hill. Owing to the place being a dense mass of jangal, in which I more than once lost my way, I am unable to give a very

definite guess of its size, but I estimate it at about 1½ mile long, or more, by from ¼ to ½ a mile broad. The hill is very steep, and the rock is, in many places, artificially scarped; where the rock does not admit of being thus made itself into a wall, strong walls have been built as described above; where the rock is itself scarped, or admitted of being scarped artificially, there are sometimes no walls, but more frequently the wall there is weaker. The direction of the walls is very irregular, corresponding to the irregularities of the hill itself, and the height of the walls is also similarly irregular; the place is very strong naturally, and so difficult of access, that, after several vain attempts to get down at several other places, I was forced to return to the place where I had ascended in order to come down. It is not commanded by any other hills, those close to it being separated by valleys more or less extensive, and being much lower; it is certainly stronger, naturally. than Ajaygarh, though much smaller.

I was told that on the top of the hill was a large tank with some remains of buildings; the place, however, is so overgrown with jangal that it was as much as I could do to go along and trace the walls; penetrating into the interior to look for the tank was quite hopeless. About the middle third of the northern line of walls there are the remains of a plain small temple; from the statue of a female I found there, holding a sword in one hand, but unlike the usual ones of Pârvati, I consider it to have been a temple of Manyá Devi, from whom the *garh* derives its name; and the circumstance of the temple abutting against the fort wall (the fort wall, in fact, forming the back wall of the cell of the temple) confirms my supposition that the temple was dedicated to the tutelar goddess of the fort. The remains that now exist are the unroofed cell, with a number of fragments of architraves. From the absence of any stones that could have belonged distinctively to the tall, tower-like roof, common over the sanctums of temples in this district, I conclude that this temple was a simple cell, roofed over flat, either by long slabs, or in compartments, of intersecting squares, and having a portico in front; in short, like the Jain temple at Danui, though more than three times its size: the cell was oblong, broader across than the length measured in the direction of the entrance; there are traces of its having contained more than one statue; no inscriptions, masons' marks, or traditions regarding it exist,

but, comparing it with the temple at Patharí, to be noticed hereafter, I am inclined to consider it as of older date; indeed, if we remember that, though Manyágarh never was taken by an enemy, never even was attacked, yet its walls are greatly more dilapidated than those of Ajaygarh, or Kalanjar, the conclusion that it is the oldest of the three, appears to be scarcely avoidable; it is true that Kalanjar and Ajaygarh have both been extensively repaired several times, but making due allowance for their repairs, there still remains the fact that the walls of Manyagarh are more dilapidated than those of the other two would have been (as far as can be judged) had they not been repaired at all.

That Manyá Devi was the tutelar goddess of the Chandels, or at least that she was the goddess to whom they appealed in their direst extremity, is shown by the bard Chand; it is therefore reasonable to infer that she was the primitive tutelar deity of the kingdom at its earliest dawn; in fact, it does not appear improbable that she was a sort of compromise between the Brahmanical Parvati and the obscenely naked female worshipped to this day by some tribes of Gonds, settled near Jabalpur, for the points of similarity between the Gond goddess and Manyá Devi are not few. If this be admitted, then it is clear that the fort which from her derives its name must necessarily be the oldest of the series, dating back to a time when the aborigines had not long been subdued. We know that Khajuráhá was the capital of the dynasty preceding the Chandels, and what could be more probable than that their great fort should have been Manyágarh, it being so close to Khajuráhá?

The very name of Manyá Devi may give us some clue to the tribe who were originally settled there. Manyá Devi is a goddess quite outside the pale of the orthodox Brahmanical Pantheon; her statue in obscenity does not much differ from the goddess worshipped by the Gonds, and it is not improbable that we may be able to trace the name of *Manyá*, either to a tribe of the aborigines, or to some object of their worship, in one of their particular dialects. The sounds of *Manyá* and Mundá are not very different, and it would not be an impossible circumstance for the title of Mundá Devi [*i.e.*, the *Devi* (goddess) of the Mundás (one of the great tribes or families of the aborigines] to get converted into *Manyá or Munya Devi* in course of time; this is mere speculation, and I advance it merely in the absence of any

better, or indeed of any other explanation, but I am sanguine that those who know more of the aborigines than I can pretend to, will be able to find a definite explanation for the curious name of Manyá or Munya Devi, applied as it is to a goddess, clearly not Hindu, but having strong points of resemblance to the female worshipped by the aborigines.

I think it probable that the clearing of the jangal within this old fort would yield interesting results, but the extent of the fort is so great, that the task would take time, and would also be expensive. I do not think the entire clearance could be done under Rs. 500, but if time were allowed, portions of jangal, at the parts likely to prove useful, may be cleared for a small amount, and for such partial clearing about Rs. 50 would probably be enough, but some one would have to stay there a week or so to see it done, and to examine the place afterwards.

Descending the steps which are avowedly modern, I crossed the Kiyân River and went to Panná. There is nothing of archæological interest on the route, except a few Sati pillars dating to about 1600 Samvat, and the remains of a small temple of the Chandel type: of this temple, only fragments, or rather detached stones, exist, scattered about, and used up by the villagers for their huts. The remains are about five miles west of Panná. I could obtain no traditions regarding the temple; it must have been situated on the banks of a small tank, near which the fragments are numerous, and on which, also, the Sati pillars are standing; this place, which is now a small village, with a very few houses, must at one time have been a large, or at least not an insignificant, village.

On the road to Panná are numerous diamond diggings, now abandoned. Panná itself contains nothing of ancient date except an inscription said to be carved on a rock near the barracks of the Raja's troops; this I searched for in vain for two days: the account of its existence I obtained at Ajaygarh, but the people at Panná itself either knew nothing about it, or were unwilling to inform me. There are, however, many large modern buildings in Panná, and the main street is well metalled and clean; but the small lanes are like the usual run of such places in native cities. In short, the state of things is just this: to make the capital, and especially the quarters of the Raja and nobility, as fine, according to their ideas, as possible, while the district is in want of good tracks to carry the produce of their

fields to market; this failing unfortunately is not confined to native rulers alone.

AJAYGARH.

From Panná, a bad road, now, however, in course of improvement, leads to Ajaygarh. The modern city contains several brick and stone ruins ascribed to the time of Chhatar Sál, but of no especial interest, the principal object of interest there is the strong old fort of Ajaygarh.

This is one of the eight great forts traditionally known as eight Chandel forts: at present it is unoccupied, except by half a dozen sentries, whose families live in a small hamlet in the fort; it has now two gates, of which one, the Tároni gate, facing the village of Tároni at the foot of the hill, is kept closed, probably to lessen the number of sentries needed. A few guns of iron and bronze still command the open gate; these guns are fair specimens of native castings, and are inscribed, one with silver letters inlaid: the others are said to have also had similar inlaid inscriptions, but the silver has gone, and the bare inscriptions alone remain. As they appear of no particular interest, I did not attempt to copy them.

The two gates are full of inscriptions, cut on the pillars and on the rock adjacent; close to the open gateway are several patchwork buildings, with modern inscriptions, of no importance; a fragment of an ancient inscription was discovered in a heap of rubbish near the open gateway, but the remainder of it has not been found, though search was made for it very carefully and zealously by the sentries on the inducementof a present. No less than five successive gates are said to have defended the entrance here, and remains of three, besides the innermost gate, still exist, but I am inclined to consider the five to have included *each* door of the double innermost gate. The innermost gate is double (*i. e.*, it is a room with an entrance at each end); only one door is now kept secure by bolting it, admission being given through a wicket.

Besides these two gates, which exist in good order, I counted no less than three others which once had been gates, but have been solidly built up. Remembering the rich store of inscriptions which the two open gates have yielded, I am sanguine that the opening and examination of the three other gates would add very materially to the store of inscriptions found here: it was my intention to have done so, so far as it could have been done, without actual

excavation, or dismantling, of the solid filling in of the gates, but a severe attack of illness put a stop to my projected labours in this direction.

Besides the inscriptions at the gates, numerous others were discovered on rocks in the ascent, the largest one being over the entrance to what is called "Ganga Jamna." This is the name given to two contiguous caverns hewn out of the rock to contain a supply of water; a spring in these cells keeps them constantly full of water, which is remarkably pure, differing in this respect completely from the Gwalior reservoirs, which are very filthy as a rule.

These reservoirs are situated quite outside of the fort, and are connected with it by an outwork and covered passage; besides these, there are two large and deep tanks about the middle of the fort, one near the hamlet alluded to, the other in a wild spot surrounded by the ruins of no less than three temples, one, a large complete one, the other two small ones: all are more or less injured, but the large one has a peculiarity in having a second story; this second story is an open gallery of varying width, running round and overlooking the central pillars of the Mahamandapa. The name of the fort is derived from Ajaya *Pála* (not Varmma), but the temples are ascribed to Parmâl and Râhil Brim; the last is confirmed by my discovery of the name of Rahil on several stones of one of the temples. The tanks are assigned, the one near the temples to Ajayapála, the other variously to Ráhil and Kirtti.

When I left Ajaygarh under an attack of illness, I was under the impression I had made plans and other measurements of the temples; on reference, however, to my papers I can find none, and I suppose I had only formed the intention of doing so without carrying it into effect. The place will be again visited, and the necessary plans secured.

The tank near the temple is not large, but said to be very deep; its sides are supported by massive vertical stone walls with ghats, the walls diminish upwards by narrow steps, the steps of the ghat are large and broad; on a slab on one of the steps of the ghat, I noticed an inscribed date, which I read Samvat 1269; there is no doubt about the figures one and two. On another stone I read the name of Máhil Brim, or Varmma, who was, according to Chand, the minister of Parmâl, and as the inscription is on a stone which forms part of an addition or repair to the revetement walls, which

here shewn and still shew signs of weakness, I accept the inscription as a record of the repairs to the tank having been executed by him. A fine statue of Varaha, with the usual rows of human figures all over its body, stands on the great ghat, but it is evidently not *in situ*; it has no inscription, but the fact of the occurrence of a Varaha statue among the ruins seems to give a clue as to the date of the tank, which must have been built before the worship of Varaha had gone out of fashion, and on this ground I would assign the excavation of the tank and of the building of the temples, at the latest, to the same period as that of the Lakshmanji temple close to Mirtang Mahadeva's at Khajuráhá, or about the eleventh century Samvat.

On the ground, too, of the close resemblance of the great temple in plan to the Khajuráhá temples, this assignment of its date to the eleventh century seems not improbable.

Close to these temples are the ruins of several plain ranges of rubble cells, said to have been the quarters of the garrison; although the people claim for them a high antiquity, I consider them as of the age of the later Rajas, because they are built out of the ruins of older structures

The other tank is an irregular excavation in the solid rock; it is greatly larger than the first one, and appears to have been the natural result of excavations made to obtain material for building. It is said never to dry up, but to have always a depth of 10 feet of water in the deepest part, which is close to one side of the tank; on its banks are scattered a number of mutilated statues, of which one is a mutilated plain Varáha. On the banks is also a small patchwork shrine, which I took to be a dargá, but which is said to contain a statue of Ajayapála; this statue is a marble one, precisely like the one at the Mahadevasthán, on the ascent of Manyágarh, and consequently recent. Tradition says that during the British occupancy, the commandant one day contemptuously kicked this statue down into the adjacent tank, whereupon he was taken so violently ill, that he soon made his peace with the offended founder of the fort by having him fished up and installed in his old place with due honors! As I declined to pull off my boots to go and see the statue, contenting myself with a distant sight, the Tewâri Brahmans of the place will doubtless ascribe my illness to my want of reverence for the statue. It appears, however, that the shrine of this Ajayapála was really once a Muhammadan dargá, as there exists in the courtyard

what bears a strong resemblance to a Muhammadan grave, and the style of the building is also Muhammadan. Probably during the Muhammadan ascendancy, a saint, as usual, squatted down on the holiest spot there, and his grave was accordingly built there and the place made into a dargá. When the Hindus regained possession, they, similarly, converted the Muhammadan dargá to their own purposes by putting in the statue of one of their innumerable divinities. The worship of Ajayapála, the founder of the fort, and avowedly a human being, is a very significant fact, and shews the process by which, in the lapse of ages, other human beings, originally only respected for some particular reason, came to be deified into gods, avatars of Vishnu or forms of Rudra.

There is another small tank at Ajaygarh close to the open gate, sacred to Surya; it is small and filthy and worth no further notice.

With this meagre notice of Ajaygarh I must close my account of the place. From Ajaygarh to Panná and thence, a fair road now in course of construction under British auspices, to connect Satna with the military station of Nowgong, leads to Nágod.

At Nágod are no remains of interest; a few modern Muhammadan dargás and tombs and Hindu chhatris exist meriting no notice.

PANNA.

The hills between Panná and the Kiyân River, and between Panná and Nágod, and those between Panná, Nágod and Kálanjar have long been noted for their diamond mines. Tradition asserts that the first discovery of the mines was due to a Syad who came to Panná and is now reverenced as a saint; his tomb, with an inscription, of which I took a copy, exists at Panná, and people of the district who have not seen it assert that a large diamond is inserted in his tomb, but it has such miraculous adhesion to the stone that it cannot be extracted and stolen. The mine that goes by his name has been the most productive in the district, and it is possible that he may have been the first to point out the existence of diamonds in the ferruginous gravel of the hills of the district. There is, I believe, no reasonable grounds for supposing that the diamond mines here were worked before the time of Chhatar Sál. The find of diamonds is, according to popular belief, confined to the basins of three rivulets.

The legend related is that on a certain occasion a holy man (the Syad, according to some) came and settled down at Panná; he had a large diamond as big as a cart-wheel. This Raja, hearing of this, went with a force to take possession of it, but the holy man having divined the Raja's intentions buried the diamond wheel in the ground. News of this reached the Raja, who, thinking it too late to return, advanced and reached the holy man's place, and, on being asked why he had come, replied that the fame of the saint had attracted him to the place; the saint in reply told him—"My son, what you desire you will find in the ground on digging, and this blessing I confer on you and your descendants, that the diamond wheel will not depart from your ráj, although no one will find it." Accordingly from that date diamonds are found on digging, and the popular belief is that the fragments found are those broken off the wheel in its motions under the earth. This is the Muhammadan version of the legend; the Hindu version is different, and tries to account for diamonds being found in the basins of the rivulets alone, and not all over the district.

An oft-repeated story relates how, not long ago, a donkey owner, in passing with his donkey across one of the nalas, found his donkey lamed, and on examination found a diamond as big as an almond sticking in his hoof, which, of course, enriched him for life. The system of working is very rude; each of those desirous of digging for diamonds goes to the selected spot with his family, and all work at it for a time; but of systematic working there are few instances. Indeed, when it is remembered how easily such a small thing as a diamond can be secreted by the finder, it is not surprising that, as a rule, those who employ hired labour seldom find anything but disappointment and loss. The laws for regulating the payment of royalty to the Raja are said to be very discouraging, and, on the whole, the inhabitants of the district do not trouble themselves much about diamonds.

Garhwá has been noticed by General Cunningham, and his account leaves nothing to be added by me.

MAHIYAR.

Mahiyar is a famous place of pilgrimage. It possesses several ancient temples of the Chandel style, but which, after a coating of whitewash and plaster, are now used as places

of w-rship, and all access to them denied. It also possesses a citadel or palace surrounded by a weak wall much resembling in weakness the wall of Garhwá. It is, like it, built of remains of older structures. The modern city is large, with many pakka houses and chhatris; a number of tanks, too, dot the suburbs, and some are said to be ancient; but as they possess no remains of antiquity, a bare mention of their existence is all that is necessary. The principal attraction of the place is the shrine of Devi Sáradá, situated on an isolated conical hill, about 2½ miles from the railway station. This temple is now a mass of ruins, and rain is kept off the small space where the statue stands by a thatched shed; the principal statue is placed on a low mound, the ruins of what must have been a large temple, and several small cells have been built of the fragments to contain it and the other images there. A flight of steps leads up all the way to the top, where a gateway of the Muhammadan style gives admission to the sacred courtyard, and a few steps lead up from the courtyard to the statue itself. In the courtyard is a tree surrounded by a low wall filled in with earth, on which several fragments are collected, and share the devotions of the numerous pilgrims who visit the place; to the right of the steps leading up to the chief statue is a large slab, now cracked, which contains an inscription perfectly illegible from the effects of weather; it must have originally been a very fine inscription and complete, as the inscription is surrounded by a raised border all round. The characters appear to have been what is called the Kutilá, similar to the inscriptions at Khajuráhá.

On the west side of the hill is said to exist a cave, which, being inaccessible, I could not visit; at the western foot of the hill is a shallow tank, with a few stones on its banks, and a level piece of ground near; this is said to be Alha's *akhádá*, or gymnasium. Alha is said to have daily practised gymnastics here, then to have bathed in the adjacent tank, and finally, ascending the hill, to have cut off his own head to offer to the Devi! After a long series of such offerings, Devi, pleased with him, granted him the boon of immortality and invincibility. Alha certainly is immortal, but Chand, and not Devi, has conferred this immortality on him.

At Rámpur to the west of the long range which runs along the Jabalpur Railway for a great distance, and to which the Devi Sáradá hill is a sort of sentinel, is a temple, from which an inscription was copied. I did not see the place.

I think it possible that as Kalinjar is said to be one of the eight great forts of the Chandels, and as there are remains there of the Chandel period, that a close examination of the jangal-covered hills to the west of Devi Sáradá may disclose the remains of a fort like those of Manyágarh, Ajaygarh, and Kálinjar; but all my enquiries from the people could elicit no information. The only gleam of light on the subject I could get was a story of a British military officer having stayed some time on the top of one of the peaks of the range, and to have posted sentries there (so says the story) that no one should get up Devi Sáradá's hill to adorn her image with fresh garlands every morning. As the hill shows no signs of a fortification of any kind, I considered the story to be a perverted account of some of the Survey parties ascending the hill for purposes of survey, but it now occurs to me that an examination of the range of hills in the immediate vicinity of Mahiyar may lead to some discovery. Attempts will be made in future, and also an attempt to obtain plans of the ancient temples, one of which presents some points of difference to the usual run of Chandel temples, though I fear that the attempt will not be successful, the temple being one that is used as a place of worship now.

Not far from the railway station of Jokhai is an old fort, Bijayrághogarh, now said to be a heap of ruins and to have been destroyed during the mutiny. Legends of treasure buried there are widely spread. I found the people very shy of giving information about old places, consequent, I was told, on some European lately digging into the Madan Mahal at Jabalpur, with the permission of Government, to look for treasure, and failing to find any, having decamped without paying his workmen or his creditors. I learnt, however, that two inscriptions had been sent thence to Jabalpur, and were to be found in the compound of the Court-house. Inquiry at Jabalpur from the petty establishment of the Court elicited the information that one or two inscriptions had been brought in, had laid in the compound for a long time, but where they were then to be found no one knew. For reasons already stated, I could get no information from the civil officers of the place, and this inscription or inscriptions remain unseen by me.

From all accounts, however, I was led to believe that the fort was not of very ancient date; it was described to me as a square with towers, which is exactly what most modern Maharatha forts are, but which is seldom the form given to

the old forts of, and previous to, the Chandel period; but as the inscriptions were said to have been found on digging during the dismantling of the masonry, it is possible an older fort, or temple, may have existed at the site of a more recent one.

The railway station of Slimánabád is about a mile and a half from the city of Slimánabád, pronounced Salimábád. The place was once a small village named Bandhi, but obtained the present name from Colonel Sleeman, whose memory is held in universal esteem throughout the whole district. I could see or hear of no ancient remains there, but a choked-up well is traditionally said to contain buried treasure, though why, if so, the people have not attempted to exhume the treasure is a mystery. As usual, the treasure is supernaturally guarded, and those who attempt to obtain it die in a mysterious manner. A large stone at an uncertain depth below the rubbish is said to cover the hoard, and the treasure is said to have been buried by some of the mutineers during their flight.

About five miles east by a little south from the station is a small village; close to it, and on the low spur of the range of hills at its back, are the remains of two temples, one Saivic apparently. The whole is a mass of ruins, but fragments of sculpture exist to shew that they belonged to about the same period as the Damni temple, judging from the similarity of workmanship, form of mouldings (so far as I could see), and appearance of wear. The materials are a coarse and a fine sandstone and granite; no traditions whatever exist regarding them.

On the banks of a small tank, not far off, lies a statue of a man on horseback. It is a small figure of red sandstone, of coarse workmanship, said to have been found in these ruins not long ago. The cast of features appears to me Tartar; the figure is dressed in long boots, and the hair is knotted into an ornament on top, as with the Mathura figures, but the workmanship appears very coarse indeed, though whether this is due to the original faultiness of the sculptor, or to the weather peeling off the outer skin, I cannot tell. The entire figure is only 18 inches high, and is now in three pieces, though, when found, it was said to have been entire.

A number of other tanks exist round about, said to date to the Chandel period, which they may possibly do, but which fact is of no consequence, as they are mere ordinary hollows, embanked as usual, and containing dirty water.

JABALPUR.

The great object of interest at Jabalpur is the Madan Mahal, and I was in great hopes of finding it an interesting building, but to my disappointment I found it a very common-place structure, built partly on one huge rounded boulder, the upper part of which, on one side, overhangs its base. The building consists of a number of dirty, close, small vaults, supporting an upper storey, consisting of a court-yard, surrounded on two sides now, but probably on all sides originally, by common-place rooms, with stucco and painted roofs, supported on plain square pillars, with capitals. Utterly unlike anything of the old Hindu period, the capitals are of the debased Ionic form common in recent buildings. The appearance of the pillars as to *wear* leads me to ascribe to them no higher antiquity than 150 years, and they are probably much later: from the style of the lower portion of the building it appears older. I am led to this opinion by the style of the great arch (great in regard to the other openings in the building, but really narrow, though tall); this is in the massive style of the Pathan period, of Alá-ud-din or of Toglak, but without the fret-work ornamentation which confers on the arches in their buildings the beauty and lightness, utterly wanting here. This arch is imposing from its mere heaviness of style.

A number of out-offices occupy part of the level bit of ground at the foot of the Madan Mahal.

The Madan Mahal has evidently been dug into lately, and the people in Jabalpur itself say, by a European with the permission of Government. The legend regarding the treasure is this—

> " Madan Mahal kí chamré.
> Do tungre ki bich,
> Garhi jama nau-lakh ki,
> Do sone kí int "

which may be translated thus:—

"In the shadow of Madan Mahal, between two isolated rocks, is buried a (treasure) accumulation of nine lakhs, and two golden bricks."

The old fort of Garhá has long been dismantled, and its materials are said to have been used by the Railway Company, but traces yet remain, though my short stay prevented me from bestowing the minute attention necessary to trace the ruins.

Near Jabalpur the village of Tewar, or Tiur, is said to possess old fragments. As my informants assured me, no

standing structures or inscriptions were to be found, and that all the remains consisted of fragments, I did not visit the place.

Returning to Nâgod, I took the road to Hattá. It is not a good road, but better than the usual run of tracks in these petty native states; and from the other side of the river, Kiyân or Ken, it improves, the minor nalas being generally crossed by causeways of brick and stone, shaped into a hollow curve. Though better than no means of crossing, they are dangerous for heavily-laden carts, as these rush down with great velocity, and come to the bottom with a sudden bump. A thin coat of earth over the bare bricks or stones would prevent this, though, of course, it would require renewal each season.

Near Jasso are some remains and a temple, from which a line of inscription on the door-step was obtained. There are also some inscribed Sati pillars, but of no particular note.

The ruins of the old cantonments of Lohárgaon line the road, presenting long lines of roofless bungalows and sheds, visible from a great distance on account of the whitewash which still adheres to the walls.

At Sikori are the remains of a small Saivic temple, consisting only of a cell and a portico; the pillars supporting the portico are singularly beautiful, resembling in this respect the exquisite pillars of the Gantái at Khajuráhá. The roof is formed of two stones, one covering the sanctum and another the portico; these stones measure, the larger one, about 15 × 12, and over 10 inches deep. At one end a part has been smoothed, on which a line of inscription gives the date of a pilgrim's visit. The rest of the stone is rough, but the edges, to a width of about an inch, are smoothed; within this border, a channel has been cut, going all round, with a vertical side on the outward and a long slope inwards for the rain water to collect and be let out.

The mouldings of the base are plain and massive; the height of the building is broken up by a line of moulding in the middle third of its height.

What is remarkable is the projection outwards of a part of the back wall of the sanctum, making it look as if it were a Muhammadan structure, with the projection to mark the usual *mehráb*. This projection has other corresponding ones on the other sides, like the one at Danui, but I can find no reason for this singularity, except a desire to relieve the monotony of a dead wall by the varying effect on it of light and shade.

Hattá is a small town with some neat modern houses, especially a pretty-looking school. Remains of ancient times are said to exist in the shape of mounds near the river, and an old fort, which is said to have been destroyed during the mutiny. Incredible numbers of Sati pillars line the road for a long distance on its approach to the city; most of these are modern, a few are dated, but all within the last 350 years or thereabouts. The remains of an old inclosure exists on the left or south side of the road near the city; it appears to be the remains of either a small citadel or palace, as the mound is still in parts bounded by old dressed stone walls, and is considerably higher than the adjacent ground outside.

About ten miles west stands the fort of Jatasankar; tradition carries back its antiquity to the five Pândus. It is said to be very strong, and built on a naturally very strong site: an old wall is said to extend from it right along the range of hills, north-east, up to the point where the Kiyán River forces itself impetuously through the narrow pass. This portion of the river, from its entrance to its exit from the pass, is held especially sacred, and legend relates how, in ancient times, the entire river disappeared in a great chasm near the entrance, and after a subterranean course of several miles re-appeared at the other end. The five Pândus are said to have bathed in the river here, and a hill close to the river is marked in the old Atlas Sheet as Pândua Hill. Pilgrimages are made to this day by the people of the district to the sacred ghat near this hill.

The fort of Hattá is one of the usual pattern, but with immense towers; these towers slope upwards considerably, and they and the walls are crowned with the usual battlements. They are built of rubble and mortar; the ruins inside are of a large palace, the great gateway of which still stands in fair order. At the jambs are long square shafts of stone, rough dressed, supporting architraves; this arrangement appears incongruous, in connection with the great Muhammadan arch of the entrance; in fact, leaving out these, which apparently serve no purpose now, but which may have served once as the side posts of the door, the entrance is of the usual Muhammadan pattern. The rooms of the palace are, as usual, ranged round an open court-yard; this is an arrangement that is seen everywhere—at Jaytpur, at Máu, at Bhind, at Jabalpur and here. It would be not uninteresting to ascertain when this style of construction was first introduc-

ed; it is apparently of a date posterior to the Muhammadan conquest, for no structures of a time anterior shew such an arrangement (if we except the case of the cells round temples); all other structures of the Chandel period in the district known as *baithaks*, or palaces, consist of open pillared halls; no doubt privacy must have been somehow secured for the females, but this may have been done by wooden, or cloth, or mat screens, which have left no traces. Up to the time of the Indo-Scythian ascendancy, the various sculptures shew that even royal ladies were not shut up in prison-like seclusion; but from that period to the Muhammadan ascendancy no records in sculpture exist to shew distinctly the position of females. Possibly the Khajuráhá sculptures give us an idea of the position of females in the period its temples were built, but it is hard to believe that any race of reasonable creatures could reduce their females to such a state of degradation and obscene immorality as the sculptures on the Khajuráhá temples (if not mere fancy-work, or only representing female temple attendants or natch girls) would seem to imply.

It is, however, worthy of note that the costume of the females in the Khajuráhá sculptures is, in several instances, the same as now prevails in some parts of the district: the various costumes may be described as—

1st.—A petticoat from the waist downwards, closing in front, with a bunch or ornamental knob hanging down from the back a short way, and ornamental bead work (?) festoons in front, symmetrically disposed on either side; the material of the petticoat appears to be very thin.

2nd.—A long piece of cloth used as a wrapper, or *saree*, with the end looped up.

3rd.—A short piece of cloth, not descending below the thigh, worn precisely as a Hindu *dhoti*, but with a knob or ornamental bunch hanging behind; material very thin.

4th.—Similar to the above, but the cloth reaching down to the ankles, and ornamented with bead festoons, &c.; material very thin as before.

The first three, divested of their bead tassels and festoons, prevail in the district to this day; the material, however, being much closer than the sculptor of the Khajuráhá temples represents his females as clothed in; the fourth costume I have not seen worn anywhere in the district.

None of the sculptured females of the Khajurahá temples have any upper covering besides the bead necklace; some

females go about similarly naked above the waist to this day, but the majority, and all who are not wretchedly poor, use either a loose sheet, or small jacket, or even the ends of their sarees, to cover the upper part of their persons. So that it is not impossible, however revolting the idea may be, that the sculptures on the temples represent actual scenes of every-day life, and this during the brightest days of her kings. Time and oblivion have thrown a softening veil over those times, but behind the veil may still be traced the revolting practices of these worthy worshippers of Manyá Devi.

With the advent of the Muhammadans a new era opens for the history of Indian female morality. No doubt Muhammadan ideas of morality were very low, but they never indulged publicly in such scenes as the Khajuráhá sculptures depict; their vices of this stamp were confined to the interiors of their houses, and were not paraded on their structures, and immortalised by the sculptor; far from corrupting previously existing female morality or decency, they improved it, however imperfectly; and lastly, the extent of the debt that female morality and decency owes to British rule and Western ideas can only be realized by a comparison of existing customs with the representations on the holy temples, not of Khajuráhá alone, but of a great portion of India.

Kundalpur is a noted place of Jain pilgrimage, not far from Hattá; it possesses some temples situated on the top of a spur of the range of hills called Báhori Ban (Boorabun on maps). The chief old temple is of rubble and mortar, white-washed, situated within a rubble, enclosure; steps lead up the hill to it. Inside the temple is a colossal statue of Neminâth, of grey stone; an inscription slab, evidently not belonging to the present structure, is let into the wall of the temple on the right of the entrance; copies of it were taken.

In a small shrine in the court-yard is a single line of inscription, dated Samvat 1501.

At Mardángarh, on the way from Kundalpur to Rûpnâth, are a number of horse-shoe marks on a large slab, which is consequently reverenced by the people.

RUPNÁTH.

Rûpnâth is the name of a place of pilgrimage situated at the southern foot of the range of hills to the south of Salaiá; the village adjacent to Rûpnâth is called Pararia. A great *méla*, or fair, used to be held here annually in honor of Rûpnâth, but has been discontinued since the mutiny;

the inscription is on a large stone near Lakhman kund; the names of the various kunds are given in the following stanzas which are sung regarding Rûpnâth—

"Rûpnâth Mahârâj tumbâri,
Ajab kalân sab se nyári,
Jangal me ne bazâr lagti,
Tin kund jalte bhári,
Rám kúnd aur Sitá kund,
Aor Lakshman kúnd ke chab nyári,
Lágat Phágún tiras ke din,
Sanat jardti jat tári,
Des des ki júté játrí,
Khúlí dúkáne jút Bhári."

A rent in the rock close to the kunds is pointed out as the place where Mahâdeva in his form of Rûpnâth disappeared; a small lingam inshrined therein is accordingly much reverenced.

The kunds are kept constantly full by springs, which issue from the hill here, falling over the lingams set up; the water goes successively through the three kunds, and out by a rivulet.

Copies of the inscription, which is in Asoka characters, were taken.

Damoh contains nothing of note. Here are two large tanks, said to be ancient, but the ghat leading down the larger one is apparently modern, though doubtless built or repaired from old materials. A small temple in the vicinity is said to be built of uncemented stones and in the Chandel style, and is ascribed to the Chandels. As I did not hear of it till too late, and did not see it myself, I can give no further information about it—see "Central Provinces Gazetteer," Article "Damoh."

Gârhakota consists of the ruins of a fortress, with a ruined palace of the usual pattern; the means of entrance to the interior of the palace is, however, long, narrow and winding, and capable of being easily and stubbornly defended. The palace is on the highest spot of ground in the fort, which is itself further defended by a deep and wide ditch, and brick and stone ramparts on the land sides, the two other sides being defended by the Sonar River and by one of its tributaries; the citadel standing in the fork, at their junction, is defended on three sides by these rivers.

The ruins of the palace and of the fort walls are very common-place, and need no further notice.

From a certain point within the fort, a very tall minar is visible in the distance northwards. I could obtain no

information, but I see it is noticed in the "Central Provinces Gazetteer," Article "Garhákotá."

Ságar contains nothing of note. The large tank on the south-west of the city is a very fine sheet of water, and is adorned with ghats, among the stones composing which some are doubtless ancient: a nearly illegible inscription, on what appears to have once been an architrave, is lying in the compound of one of the houses (of which a copy was taken), and occasionally worked stones of ancient times are to be seen applied to various uses by the inhabitants.

Garhápairah is a fort a few miles from Ságar close to the road to Jhansi; it is a modern one of the usual pattern, materials, and workmanship A dargah exists there, and there are legends of buried treasure, it is, however, in a dismantled state, and is said to have been destroyed by the British during the Ságar War—consult "Central Provinces Gazetteer," Article "Ságar."

RAHATGARH.

Close to the road from Ságar to Bhûpâl is the fort of Râhatgarh This fort is situated on the top of the north-west peak of a long range of hills. It contains a large and deep tank dug out of solid rock, the descent into the tank is by steep and dangerous-looking steps formed of large squared blocks of stone, which, I think, have for the most part remained undisturbed since the ancient founders first laid them down On the banks of the tank must once have existed a large temple of cut stone (granite), but the extensive site is now occupied by a small temple on the remains of the old platform Pilgrimages are made to the place, and an annual gathering takes place on the banks of the tank. The deep gloom and great depth of the tank, from which light is shut out by the vertical faces of the rock, which stands in high cliffs all round, except at the narrow ghat, produce a feeling of awe, especially when one is alone. The place is said to be infested with wild animals of the tiger and hyena class, which is quite probable, considering that the slaughter grounds of the modern city below are situated at the foot of the hill on which the fort stands; fortunately none appeared during my examination of the place.

Besides this ancient tank and the shrine near it, there are several other buildings in the fort, some of which are tombs of Muhammadan saints; these are square cells, sur-

mounted by domes on low necks; the domes are not bulbous, and I think they may be considered as of a time anterior to the Mughal conquest. I could obtain no traditions of any kind regarding either the fort or the buildings in it, although rain detained me there an entire day in addition to the day I reached the place, and during which I made the necessary examination of the fort.

In addition to the tombs, there are the ruins of an extensive palace, with balconies overhanging the walls, from each of which is obtained a magnificent view of the country and of the river, with its windings, and its rapids over rocky ledges, and its beautiful deep green pools, with the great modern bridge in the distance.

The fort is situated on the highest projecting spur of the range of hills in the vicinity; the ascent to it is by means of a long winding passage defended by outworks, and five gates have to be passed in succession before the interior of the fort can be reached. The gates are of stucco and rubble, arched in the pointed style, not horse-shoe, and ornamented with red-stone flowered bosses in the spandrils All the gates, however, are not so adorned, and only three of them are standing in tolerable preservation, though one of the three must soon fall. The last gateway leads through a long narrow passage between the high brick walls of the two wings of the palace to the court-yard in front of the palace, and thence through what once must have been a gate, to a long narrow street which runs northwards towards the tombs. Besides this great entrance, there is a small postern on the other side, and a large breach to the north-east, through which I obtained admission. The northern end of the hill juts out a long way beyond the fort, with a gentle slope to the plains below; the ascent up this is easy. On this side, however, the fort is defended by no less than three rows of walls; an outermost one, battlemented in the usual way, but not very thick, then a wide and deep ditch with vertical scarp and counterscarp, then another strong wall, then a space occupied in part by ruins of houses, then the main wall of the fort, towering high over all the others. This wall is about 10 feet thick; the battlements are of the usual pattern. The breach which gave me admission is near the point where the triple row of walls starts from on the east side, and is in the main wall of the fort.

From the high walls at this part, where also the ruins of a large building, possibly the mahal, exist, is to be seen a long

building with apparently a curved gable-ended roof envelop-ed in a mass of weeds and jangal, but the jangal round this was so dense that I could not obtain access to it.

The balconies of the great palace mentioned above are adorned with pretty roofs of the curved form often to be seen in modern Hindu buildings, especially over the outer entrances of temples and of the court-yards of palaces or mahals and over balconies. The palace, therefore, which contains this feature cannot be old; the balconies are adorned with glazed tiles, and the rooms are elegantly painted and ornamented with mouldings and flowers in stucco. Some of the paintings were ornamented with gilding also, though this has mostly disappeared. The rooms are low with vaulted roofs, and are two storeys in height, resting on vaulted foundations.

From Ráhatgarh the road to Bhupál while within British territory is good; beyond that it becomes a mere track, and the descents into the nalas are very steep and difficult. Bágrod is a small place on the road, containing a small Maharatha fort in ruins and a few squared stones, also a ruined tower at the foot of the hill.

TEONDA

Teonda is a small village about 5 miles north of Bágrod; it is situated at the foot of a range of small, bare, isolated hills, the peaks of which are very curiously shaped. On the extreme projecting point of the foremost hill is standing a rough column of rock which appears to have a small cavity or cell inside: it is perfectly inaccessible. From a distance of even a few miles (3), this rock appears exactly like a tower half ruined, standing on the slope in advance of the peak of the hills. There are several isolated peaks in this range of hills which look exactly like topes The hills as they recede from the village of Teonda are covered with jangal, said to be infested by tigers, though I believe wolves or hyenas are more probably the denizens of the low jangal.

I examined one of these curiously-shaped peaks, and found it composed of natural rock broken up into layers and presenting at a distance the exact appearance of artificial courses of rubble.

On the foremost peak is a well and a square masonry tank, or *houz*, very small; there is also a Survey station close to these on the highest point of the hill; the Survey flag-staff

inserted into the mound of stones marking the Survey station is now crowned by a red flag indicating a holy place; and on the occasion of the annual fair held here, pilgrims go up this hill to see the well and the *houz*, and possibly to worship the isolated column of rock, though I did not hear that this column is worshipped; the cell or hole in it is, however, considered holy, as having been the residence of a Rishi of olden days.

The village at the foot is literally built on ruins; these ruins extend for a space about a mile in length by half a mile in breadth; and detached from the great mass are other smaller heaps of ruins at the southern foot of the hills. The ruins consist of squared stones of granite, of pillars of granite and red sandstone, of brick, and of rubble walls, and of an irregular-shaped fort, still retaining some show of defence by having sentinels posted at its two gates. The walls of the fort are of rubble and mortar, the battlements are mostly all gone; in fact, I do not remember seeing any at all; and the walls are ruinous in several places, and give easy access to the interior, which contains a modern house of large size, built of old materials, the residence of the chief local officer, and a medley of huts with walls of mud, rubble and brick, roofed with flat tiles. Outside the fort are several ruins of houses, evidently themselves built of still older ruins; several pillars doubtless belong to the old Hindu period, judging from their shape and weathering, but the great majority of pillars consisting of red sandstone are certainly Muhammadan, if we judge from their apparently fresh appearance, and from the want of depth and boldness in the few carvings they possess; the carvings being simply of the kind found on the plainest of the granite pillars in the Kutb court-yard, but very shallow, and confined to the capitals and bases. Numerous tombs of stone and brick and two or three dargahs exist among the ruins outside the fort. On the banks of the large tank, near the northern foot of the hills, the descendant of the former owner of the place, a Syad, now occupies a miserable house amidst the wreck of the old grand edifices which once belonged to his ancestors.

It is possible that Teonda was a place of some note in the Hindu period, but from the few remains of Hindu times that exist, I do not think it probable that it was a large place; its greatness dates to the time of Muhammadan ascendancy, and, judging from the ruins of buildings that exist, to the early Mughal period.

There a few Hindu shrines and many Sati pillars, one of Samvat 14th century; but the inscriptions on them are too worn to be made out, except a few letters of the date.

PATHÂRI.

Pathâri is a place of some importance now, about 12 miles to the north of Teonda. The ancient remains here are numerous and extensive. The present city of Pathari is situated at the northern foot of an isolated rocky hill, about a mile long, running nearly north-west and south-east. Between the present city and the hill is a fine piece of water, in the midst of which rises a stone pillar. No traditions exist about it, but it may be a votive pillar, such as is usual to erect at the intended site of a structure, or in the centre of a newly-formed tank bed; usually, in modern times, they are made of wood, and soon perish; the people call the pillar in the centre of the tank at Pathari *Marhya*, thus implying that it is one of the pillars of a sunken temple, and, indeed, some assert that there are numerous other pillars and fragments close to it in the tank bed, and that some others appear even above the water when the tank dries sufficiently in seasons of great drought, but I could see none.

On the west bank of the tank are several chhatris and a small fort of recent date. On the embankment of the tank which confines its waters on the north side, are fine old fragments of statues, some of which are enshrined in small modern shrines of brick and mortar; the east and north banks of the tank are held up by strong walls of stone, mostly of split, hammer-dressed blocks of stone laid on each other without mortar. The wall thus formed is plumb, but at intervals are ghats and portions of walls of dressed and well-fitted stones, these walls are also nearly plumb, diminishing upwards by narrow off-sets. The steps of the ghat are very steep, and one is astonished at suddenly sinking, more than he expects, in descending the steps, for the water is so clear, that the successive falls of the steps appear less than they really are.

On the east bank are two modern-looking shrines and a dargah. All these show indisputable signs of having been built of older materials, and on the sites of older structures, and indeed the ghats and walls in many places, both on the east and north, shew, from the evident misplacement of the stones they are built of, that they have also been built of older materials; so that I consider the tradition of the ruins

of a temple being submerged in the tank as a valuable and important evidence, confirmatory of the evidence of the walls and ghats of the tank that this tank did not exist in ancient times, when Pathari was in a flourishing condition, but was constructed after its decay, when the temple now said to be submerged had been ruined by whatever causes.

The existence of a Muhammadan dargah on the banks of the tank, built of older materials, appears to me a very significant circumstance as tending to show that to Muhammadan bigotry, here as elsewhere, this noble place owes its destruction.

This tank is formed by embanking across a valley that runs between the west slope of the Pathari hill and the hillock on which the present city and citadel stand. The valley runs in a westerly direction, enlarging as it goes, until it emerges into a wide low plain; but before it widens into a plain, and immediately below the embankment of the great tank, a second embankment runs across it, forming another tank, now of no great size, but which, in the absence of the first embankment, and before being choked with weeds, must have been a noble sheet of water. This tank appears to me to be ancient; and indeed a large city, as Pathari was in ancient times, must have had a large tank for the supply of water; wells, from the rocky nature of the soil on which the city stands and stood, being neither numerous nor easily dug. If my conjecture be correct, then the submerged temple (if temple it were) would have occupied precisely the same relative position to this tank that the great Gadarmal temple does with regard to *its* tank.

As observed before, the city stands on a low hill, formed of a spur of the large hill which, starting from its south-eastern corner, runs west for about half a mile, then re-curves, running parallel, or nearly so, to its parent hill for another three-quarters of a mile. The large tank spoken of before lies inclosed between these elevations, and at its greatest extent cannot be over half a mile long by a quarter mile broad. The city stands on the portion of the spur which runs parallel to the great hill on the west side of the tank, but the suburbs extend from the north-west corner of the large hill to its north-eastern corner, and along its eastern face, for a short way, being thus separated from the city by the embanked valley. The citadel occupies the south-east corner of the city, which itself occupies the entire extent

of the spur to its northern end, where it slopes steeply down to the great plain or valley spoken of before. In breadth, the city occupies the entire breadth of the gently sloping top of the hillock, the northern face of which is a steep, but not rugged, slope down to the valley, and the west face consists of huge rounded boulders and pointed rocks, rising in naked ruggedness over each other from the plains below. The citadel and city are each defended by walls; the citadel on all sides, the city on all except the tank side. The wall dividing the citadel from the city is much ruined, but its other sides are still mostly in good order; it appears of the post-Muhammadan period, and I should say of the Toglak style, from the great slope of its walls, though they are far from being nearly so massive as those of Toglakabád; they are built of rubble and mortar, and are loop-holed. Traces of the city walls also exist in places, but they were much weaker; and if a mere guess be worth anything, I should call them more ancient, dating probably to the Hindu period of the Guptas, whose pillar now frowns in solitary majesty over the ruins around.

Within the city are immense heaps of ruins, mostly of dwelling houses, in the style of cloisters or rooms round open court-yards; they are of the Muhammadan period, but underlying these ruins and existing houses are frequently to be seen stone platforms of a still more ancient period, dating probably to the Gupta period; these platforms are of large, dressed stone blocks of granite, now no longer even and entire, and though showing signs of renewal or restoration in places, yet retaining distinct traces of their original regularity and evenness. Muhammadan masjids once occupied portions of the city, and the remains of the great platform at the north-east end of the city especially bears traces of a Muhammadan masjid and dargah; but they, in their turn, have made way for modern baniyas' houses, and huts, and weeds, and desolation.

One gate of the city opens on the embankment of the present tank, which forms a sort of road or approach to it; the gate opens on a strongly-defended passage, or covered-way as I believe it is technically called, which led, by one zig-zag turn, to what apparently was the southern end of the great platform, a branch going also to the north end of the platform which overlooks the covered way as it slopes up; this place, therefore, was one of the great public places in the city. Other gates existed on other sides, one about the

middle of the north side, and one, or perhaps, two posterns on the west side, opening on the rugged pile of rocks, which on this side form the descent into the plain. On the tank side I think there was a small gate; to the south there are no signs of any large gates, except near the south-east end, where, I think, a gate must have existed, as in the Hindu period the great entrance would probably have been on this side, being nearest to the great mass of ruins occupying the plain on the south and south-east sides of the hill.

The portion of spur between the city and the great hill is, and has apparently long been used as a quarry; good sandstone is easily and abundantly obtainable here, and a large portion of the inhabitants are engaged in various ways in the stone traffic here. Large slabs, 10 and 12 feet long, and 6 feet wide, and of varying thickness, can easily be, and are to this day, quarried here for export, as no demand exists in the miserable city or its immediate vicinity now; but it is clear that the large slabs (each measuring sometimes 15 feet square by 1 foot deep) which now lie in the ruins to the north, north-east, and south-east of the great hill, forming each in itself a roof for the numerous small single-cell temples, scattered about, were obtained here; and I have no doubt the *lát*, or great monolithic pillar, was also obtained from these quarries. Two varieties of stone are obtained from these quarries: a red stone, sometimes soft and micaceous, and sometimes compact and hard, and a close-grained hard white variety.

The monolithic pillar in the city has been described in the pages of the "Journal, Asiatic Society;" I shall, therefore, content myself with a brief notice of it. It is a tall, round, plain, slightly-tapering shaft of white compact sandstone; the lower portion, for a height of 7 feet 9½ inches, being a square of 2 feet 8 inches each way, with a slightly projecting panel, 2 feet 2 inches wide, on each side. On the northern panel is an inscription in late Gupta characters, much worn by the weather; below this portion of the monolith, which forms as it were a base to the round shaft, the pillar becomes a plain square 2 feet 9½ inches each way. How far the base is buried within the earth, I have not been able to ascertain, but the entire shaft, and pedestal, and base are of one stone; the shaft and pedestal with the inscription being carefully smoothed and polished, though of the polish few traces now remain. The capital consists of a disk, with rounded and corrugated edge, shaped like the central zone of an oblate

spheroid, and is surmounted by a square abacus; the whole is surmounted by two human figures placed back to back, armed, and bearing shields. At present, only a portion of the western figure, up to the waist, exists, and also a small fragment of the lowest portion of the eastern, the rest having traditionally been broken off by lightning, which has also split off a large piece of the shaft of pillar at the upper end on its west face; but from the example at Eran, it appears that the figure on top consisted of two human figures back to back, bearing shields, and armed with spears.

The round portion of the shaft diminishes upwards, but very slightly; the diminution, so far as can be judged now, in its mutilated condition, being not more than 1⅓ inch, the diameter at bottom of the circular portion being 2 feet 8¼ inches nearly. The height of the round portion of the shaft is just twelve diameters, or 27 feet 1 inch nearly, of which 26 feet 11 inches nearly is in one smooth piece with the pedestal or base of the monolith, and the uppermost remaining 2 inches forms a sort of neck to the capital, exceeding the diameter of the shaft by about 2 inches, or slightly more. The maximum diameter of the corrugated capital exceeds the diameter of the shaft by just one-third, and its thickness is just one-third the diameter of the shaft; it has a neck at its upper end, similar to the neck, or bead, at its lower, and is surmounted by a square abacus, which enlarges in steps, from bottom upwards, till it attains a maximum side slightly greater than the maximum diameter of the disk below; this size it retains to the top. The steps on the under surface of the abacus, by which it enlarges, are three in number. The total height of the capital, including the abacus, is just one diameter, or a very little more, and the mutilated figure on top is about the same; the total height of the pillar, with its statues, from the present ground level being nearly 47 feet, of which more than 42 feet is one piece of stone.

As usual, tradition ascribes this pillar to Bhim Pându, whose walking stick it is represented to have been, and to have been left here when in his wanderings during the fourteen years' exile he, with his brothers, passed this way and sojourned here some time. Strange, however, to say, the large tank, spoken of before, is not ascribed to him.

This closes my notice of the ancient remains within the present inhabited city, but more important and far more numerous remains exist round about for a distance of 1½

or 2 miles on the east, north and south-east sides, which I now proceed to notice.

The most important and interesting of these is the great temple to the south-east of the large hill, known as the temple of Gadarmal. It is, in fact, the most interesting and important relic of old times in the place; architectural details are given in plates and photographs.

The temple consists of a cell, with the usual other portions in front, as in the examples at Khajuráhá; but, whereas, in all other examples except one, the cells are squares, the cell of this is an oblong. The main temple stands within a court-yard (which was probably once inclosed by walls) with seven other subordinate temples, disposed round it symmetrically (*vide* plan); this inner court has a gateway of a very unique style and exquisite beauty, and beyond this gate exists another, which probably formed the entrance to an outer court-yard. This last consists of a small flat roof, supported by two double pillars in front, and two single pilasters with rough backs behind, thus proving incontestibly that a wall once ran behind the rear line of pilasters; indeed, traces of this wall exist to this day in the shape of a low line of mounds.

The peculiarities in the architecture of this temple need detailed and critical examination; this is not the place for a discussion of that sort, which will more appropriately form portion of a distinct paper on the architecture of the ancient monuments in the district, which I hope to be able to submit at a future period. The subject is too great to be brought within the limits of a report like this, nor does a sufficiency of materials now exist to write on it as fully as could be wished. This, however, I may note here, that the temple appears to belong to two distinct periods, or at least that the original design of the temple appears to have been only a cell with a portico, and that this was afterwards added to, forming the complete temple as it now stands.

At present, the temple is in a ruinous condition; great heaps of cut stone effectually hide all the mouldings and the basement of the *grihagarbha*, or tower; the plate shews the mouldings on the outer face of the walls of the *mandapa*. The simplicity of these mouldings of the mandapa is remarkable, and contrasts strongly with the elaborate and magnificent mouldings of the temples at Khajuráhá. On the east, the walls of the sanctum are supported on the outside by great platforms of dry stone abutting against them up to a

great height; these platforms are built of ruined fragments from the temple itself piled on each other. The cell has the usual tower roof over it; the entrance to the cell is constructed in the usual pattern, of an architrave for the upper member to support the mass above; the primary architrave having cracked, a second door-frame of rough-dressed plain stone was put in to support it. The figure over the entrance is that of a four-armed female, holding a sword, shield and bow, the fourth arm being broken; a lion crouches at her feet; in my notes I find it called a bull instead of a lion, but the photograph shews the figure clearly to be that of a lion; be the animal either lion or bull, the female is clearly meant to represent Párvati. Below this architrave, and between it and the lower rough architrave, is another with three medallions, each with what may be taken to be a representation of a Buddhist tope within a sort of ornamental flowered groundwork, or a half lotus, clearly in either case a Buddhist emblem. The supurb outer gateway is crowned with the Buddhist wheel in the centre; it is to be inferred, therefore, that whatever the age of this temple may be, it was originally Brahmanical, but was afterwards appropriated by Buddhists, who may have added the superb outer gateway, and perhaps also the outermost one.

This inference is supported by the existence within the cell of a lingam, besides other sculptures of a large size, which I suspect to be Brahmanical, but which, lying, as they do, face downwards, and too heavy and too inconveniently placed to be easily moved, cannot be properly examined; the principal statue inside is a life-size figure of Maya Devi with the infant Buddha; this superb bas-relief, which competent judges have pronounced to be the finest and largest piece of Indian sculpture (see "Journal, Asiatic Society," and Sleeman), is 6 feet 3 inches long, 3 feet 6 inches wide, exclusive of the projecting tenons at its foot, which fitted into sockets to keep it standing in position, and 2 feet 9 inches thick, the relief of the figures being such as to leave the ground work only 5 inches thick. It is now unfortunately in three pieces, and lies with its face downwards; but I infer from the account of this statue in Colonel Sleeman's rambles, that not long ago it was in its original position. The floor of the sanctum has been most mercilessly dug up, and other large statues besides this superb one lie jammed face downwards in a confused heap in the ruins of the floor. Tradition states that not more than a few years ago, a European came to the place, dug it

up for treasure, and discovering an incalculable amount, quietly took it and disappeared; next morning, the workmen employed, going as usual to dig, found that the European had left, and going inside the temple found, lying about, several *asharfés* (gold coins), which explained at once the cause of the European's sudden disappearance!

The tradition regarding this temple is, that in olden days, there lived a Muni (the Muhammadans say Pír) in a cave on the hill adjacent, unknown to any one; he had a goat which used regularly to come and graze with the flock in charge of a poor shepherd, and disappear in the evening. The shepherd took as much care of it as of the cattle regularly entrusted to him, and for which he was paid; he at last determined to ascertain who was the owner of the goat, with a view to claim some return for his services in taking care of the goat; one evening, therefore, he followed it, neglecting his flock, and after much exertion, and many bruises and scratches, found himself led up the hill to the mouth of a cave, which the goat entered; the shepherd followed, and saw an old man seated intent in meditation. It was now dark, and afraid of staying, yet unwilling to leave unmentioned the object of his visit, he made a noise to attract the old man's attention, who thereupon turning to him, enquired the object of his visit; the man said he desired some return for his attendance on the goat, as he had carefully tended it for a long time; the old man took up a handful of *jawa* (corn) and gave it him as his wages; disgusted and indignant, but afraid to remonstrate, or remain longer, the man hastened down and reached home, where his wife, alarmed at his extraordinary absence, eagerly questioned him as to the cause of the delay; taking the handful of corn from his dhoti, he indignantly threw it on a heap of cowdung fuel, saying, "For this I have nearly killed myself," relating the whole circumstance; the two sat down, the man in sullen discontent, and the woman to attend the cooking, when, stretching her hand for one of the fuel cakes, she found it changed into metal, which on examination turned out to be gold. Overjoyed and grateful, the man immediately went back to the cavern to thanl the old man, but found it silent and empty, and the old man was never seen or heard of again. The shepherd hid the wealth and began to build a temple, gradually taking out what was needed for its construction from his hoard.

The temple that he built is the Gadarmal, so called from *gaderi* (shepherd), and in the temple he caused sculptured

images of himself and of his wife to be set up; the large statue of his wife he set up in the middle, his own was on the side; he also dug the tank in front, built its ghats and the pillared hall on its banks, and many other temples, without exhausting his wealth, which remained buried, and was lost at his and his wife's death, as they had no children. A little-known addition to the legend states that the lions over the gateway are the guardians of the buried treasure, and that whoever can hit the exact spot they appear to be watching, will, on digging, find the treasure; as the lions look in diverging directions, the intersections of their lines of sight can never fall in front of them, but must fall somewhere behind them, and therefore within the temple, or behind it, probably the former.

From this story it is probable that the other large sculpture now lying face down, close to a corner of the cell, is that of a male figure.

This legend deserves some attention, as it differs totally from the usual legends of temples being built, either by Viswakarman, or by kings. A legend similar to this I faintly remember hearing in another locality long ago, but I cannot now call to mind where or on what occasion I heard it.

On the stones of the tower, over the *grihagarbha*, are several single letters, evidently masons' marks The forms of the letters appear to me to be those of the 8th or 9th century, which therefore, judging from this, must be the date of the oldest portions of the temple

As before pointed out, the temple was originally Brahmanical, and was then appropriated by the Buddhists, who, it may be supposed, added the exterior portions of the main temple; these portions are later than the great temple, but their style is such that, judging from them, I hesitate to ascribe them to any later period than the end of the 9th. or beginning of the 10th century, and would willingly place them earlier. If, however, the masons' marks on the stones of the *grihagarbha* be of the 9th century, the additions could not have been made till some time afterwards.

It may be conjectured that the additions are due to Buddhists; if so, a change in the predominant religion of the country must have set in shortly after the construction of the original temple, *i. e.*, somewhere about the latter end of the 9th century, even though it is possible that the temple was built by private persons.

Therefore, if from any sources we could obtain records of

the kings who reigned over Pathari in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries, we should on this supposition find that either a permanent or temporary change of the predominant religion took place about this period. Although, as a rule, persecution was seldom exercised by rulers over their subjects of a different religion, there is evidence in more instances than one that the temples of the weaker body were appropriated by the stronger; hitherto nothing has been brought forward to show that such a change did take place.

But to the supposition that the additions and enlargements were by Buddhists, there are grave objections, and although it must be admitted that the beauty of execution, according to competent judges, of the great statue within the temple indicates an early age, it does not necessarily follow that the additions and enlargements to the temple itself were made by Buddhists.

Foremost of these objections is the rude inner framework within the old Brahmanical doorway of the sanctum. It will be noticed that below the Brahmanical top sill of the doorway is a Buddhist one, apparently supported only by the rude top sill of the rude inner framework. To imagine the men who executed or ordered the noble sculpture inside, capable of having also ordered or executed the barbarous inner frame of the doorway, is well nigh impossible; but it is possible that the Buddhist top sill does not depend for support on the rude lower architrave, and that it was put in before the original Brahmanical top sill cracked and needed the support which the rude lowest top sill now affords; this objection, therefore, apparently very weighty at first sight, is by no means convincing.

The magnificent gateway in front of the temple is apparently Buddhist; but on careful examination, I am convinced that it is Brahmanical, converted to Buddhist purposes. On the centre of the great architrave is a wheel, the sure sign of Buddhism, but in the architrave itself, at its centre, we see a sculptured representation of the usual pedestal of statues; the incongruity of the wheel surmounting, in the way it does (*vide* photograph and plates), the architrave is apparent; it has no manner of connexion with the sculptured pedestal in design or appropriateness. Let us imagine the wheel removed and its place occupied by a moderate-sized statue of Párvati, and instead of discord, we have complete harmony; the statue of Párvati would very appropriately surmount the sculptured pedestal, and with the statues of the lions, *her*

emblems, would form one harmonious whole. Had there existed anywhere on the gateway any indication, besides the inappropriately placed wheel, of its Buddhist origin, I should have hesitated to consider this gateway as merely an adaptation of a Brahmanical sculpture to Buddhist purposes, notwithstanding the evident incongruity or discord of the wheel being placed on the square, sculptured pedestal, *in the way* it is; let it be understood that it is by no means meant to be asserted that the wheel could not be placed on a pedestal without producing discord; what is meant is, that the manner in which this particular wheel is placed on this particular sculptured pedestal, without any apparent connexion or unity of design or adaptability, does produce an idea of complete discord.

It is thus seen that, notwithstanding present appearances, the gateway is really Brahmanical, and this is almost demonstrated by the fact, that some of the smaller temples, surrounding the great temple, have sculptured over the top sills of their doorways representations of Párvati; and I have no doubt, could we recover the sculptures on the top sills of all the doorways, some of which are now missing, whilst others are too worn to be made out, they would *all* be found to have been of Brahmanical origin. *As the noble gateway forms an essential part of the inner court-yard with its minor temples*, it must have been built at the same time as the smaller temples, and these being clearly Brahmanical the gateway must be so also. The only possible, but very improbable, escape out of this inference is that the Brahmanical gateway alone was knocked down when the Buddhists took possession of the temple, although they did not knock down the minor temples.

It therefore appears to me clear that, although the original temple appears to have been enlarged and added to, this is due, not to Buddhists, but to Brahmanists.

Therefore, we can recognize four periods in the history of the temple:—

1st—the construction of the simple temple, consisting of a cell, with a sort of antechamber in the thickness of the front wall of the tower;

2nd—the extension of the original design by the addition of the various other parts, making up a complete temple, as seen in the finest and most magnificent examples in Central India, with a complete set of subordinate shrines round the principal one, and a superb gateway;

3rd—the appropriation of the temple by Buddhists; and lastly

4th—the reparation of the temple, whether by Brahmanists or Buddhists, is uncertain; at which time, the rude inner frame-work was put within the doorway of the sanctum, and the rude dry stone walls built up to support the bulging sides of the great tower.

The first three periods must have succeeded each other rapidly, for it is evident that the great sculpture of Maya Devi could only have been executed before the great decay of art in Central India set in, which appears to have been about the end of the 11th century Samvat, or the beginning of the 12th at the latest. The gateway pillars, comparing them with the Khajuráhá examples, appear to belong to the middle of the 9th century A.D.; we thus have roughly the end of the 8th century or beginning of 9th century for the latest date of the construction of the cell and tower of the main temple; the middle of the 9th for the superb additions to it; and 11th century for the appropriation of the temple by Buddhists. That Pathari was a flourishing place and possessed Brahmanical temples in the 8th century of the Samvat is shown below in an inscription from a small temple near the tank and present city of Pathari.

I do not think it necessary to produce evidence of the existence in a flourishing condition of Buddhism in this part of India in the 10th or 11th century; not only Chand, when he calls the Minister of Parmál a Parwar, but the inscriptions on the Jain and Buddhist temples and statues in Mahoba, and Khajuráhá, place this beyond the shadow of a doubt.

In concluding this brief notice of the great temple, the most interesting Hindu structure within the limits of my tour this season, I beg to be permitted to earnestly represent, for the consideration of Government, the advisability of some measures being taken for the conservation and care of these most interesting ruins, especially of the beautiful and unique gateway and of the great statue: the gate, as will be seen from the photograph, is in an unsafe condition. I would recommend either its removal to Calcutta, where it would form an imposing object in the Museum grounds, or if this be found inexpedient, I would at least beg leave earnestly to recommend the expenditure of a moderate sum to collect and piece together the fragments, and restore the arch which, once springing from the capitals of the pillars, supported the centre

of the architrave, and to execute whatever is needful for the stability of the structure. The statue can easily be removed to Calcutta and placed in the Museum at little cost.

To the north and north-east of the great temple is a large tank, now choked with weeds and shallow, but which, at one period, must have been a fine sheet of water; this tank is formed by embanking the valley at the head of which the temple stands. On the north and west sides, the embankment is in good order, is mostly faced with large blocks of dressed stone, and possesses a fine ghat on the longer face, on one of the stones of which an inscription exists, which has been copied and submitted with the other inscriptions to General Cunningham. On the embankment, and nearly opposite the great temple, is a pillared hall standing on a high basement, and commanding a fine prospect. This pillared hall is known as Bythak; no traditions exist regarding it, and I am of opinion that it has undergone repair and alteration since it was first erected; the roof is of plain flat stone slabs supported on three rows of plain pillars, four in each row, hence its usual designation of "Bárakhambá.' Near it are several remains on a small mound, but of no particular importance, and I think of comparatively recent times. A portion of the embankment of the tank, for some distance on either side of the pillared hall, is faced by a nearly vertical stone revetement of large blocks of dressed stone.

In the middle of the embankment on the west side are signs of a small temple having once existed. but little trace of it now remains.

At the corner diagonally opposite to the pillared hall stands a small temple dedicated to Párvati.

Close to the embankment and north-east of the great temple stands a group of ruins, consisting of the ruins of several temples and pillared halls; the principal one appears to have consisted of a court-yard surrounded on three sides by pillared halls with an entrance on the west flanked by two small temples consisting of only a flat-roofed cell each; on the north side the pillars have entirely disappeared; but on the east and south they still exist in a dilapidated condition. The eastern hall consists of six rows of pillars, seven in each row supporting a flat roof; the first row is ornamented, and has chamfered edges; the second row is plain and is backed by a plain wall, with a doorway and latticed openings; the third row is ornamented with lotus medallions; the fourth row has the edges chamfered, but is otherwise plain; the fifth is similar and

is backed by a plain wall with latticed openings, and a door in the middle; the sixth, which abuts against the back wall of the building, is similar. The building may therefore be considered as divided into three portions: 1st, the portico, being merely a long verandah; 2nd, the hall proper; 3rd, the long gallery, which serves as the sanctum; the lattices closing the openings are of very plain, substantial, simple geometrical patterns, and are of sandstone.

The statues inside are numerous; there are, in fact, all the ten avatars of Vishnu except the fish; the tortoise incarnation is remarkable, *vide* photograph; it represents a pole on the back of a tortoise with a rope wound round it, the ends of which are held on opposite sides by human figures; it is a representation of the churning of the sea when Vishnu assumed the form of a tortoise, to serve as a pivot on which the hill Mandar could rotate, as without this arrangement the mountain would have sunk down into the bottom of the sea. The rope is Vasuki, and indeed on the sculpture, broken though it is, the head of a serpent, with a portion of its rope-like body attached, can be seen on the right hand figure, though the portion connecting this with the rest of the body wound on the upright is broken off. The mountain, Mandar, represented here by the cylindrical pole has a figure of an elephant ridden by a man on the top; this figure no doubt represents Indra; what the figures underneath the tortoise represent, or those on the top seated on a sculptured ledge or bench running across the entire sculpture, I cannot make out; the large figure on the left is four-handed and bears Vishnu's emblems.

This sculpture is very suggestive; at the present day, the emblem of Siva bears a very close resemblance to the tortoise with the upright on his back, and indeed the tortoise may very well represent the Argha, within which the phallic symbol is now always set up, and it appears worthy of inquiry whether originally the phallic symbol was not an emblem of Vishnu.

It would be out of place to speculate here on the probable or possible origin of, or changes which, the phallic symbol may have undergone in the course of ages in various countries, or to which of the three great deities of the Hindu pantheon, it was first applied in India; it is enough to indicate that such change is not by any means improbable, and that the character of Vishnu as preserver is the one which, on *a priori* grounds, has the best right to the symbol;

while Siva, in his capacity of destroyer, and Brahma as creator, have not much connexion with it; and of these two again, Brahma has a better natural right to it than Siva, who has none at all.

The statue of the Buddha incarnation in this group of sculptures is remarkable; it represents a man standing, holding an alms-bowl in his hand, and with a canopy over his head of the extended hood of a nâga; this is a very unusual way of representing Buddha, and as such worthy of notice.

A figure of Parasu Râma, with bow and quiver of arrows, also occurs, and is worth noting, as statues or representations of Parasu Râma are very rare.

Outside, and in front of the building, is an upright and cylindric stone, exactly like a modern lingam, with four sculptures on four sides representing Vishnu in his four incarnations as Varâha, Vâman, &c.; this is a very remarkable and significant piece of sculpture, bearing on the question of Vishnu having originally been the deity who was typified by the Phallus.

A colossal figure of the varâha avatar, represented by a human figure with a boar's head, lies close to it in two or three pieces.

Close to this structure are the ruins of several other temples, none however of a large size; in the most perfect of these there is a varâha of large size, with the usual rows of human figures all over his body, it measures 5 feet 5 inches in length, by 2 feet in breadth and 5 feet in height; a section of the interior of this temple is given in plate. The roof is formed of flat stones of large sizes. The ruins of the other temples may be passed over, as containing nothing of special interest in any but an architectural point of view, but of this I reserve a discussion for a future occasion.

To the north-west of the great Gadarmal temple, and not far from the foot of the hill, is a large group of ruins, consisting of Jain temples in all stages of decay; the original design of the great group appears to have been a number of cells round an open court-yard; the monotony of the lines of cells being agreeably relieved by larger temples at the important points, as the centres and corners; on one side, two tower roofs rise up close to each other, and, I believe, mark the sites of the principal shrines; the present entrance is through a narrow *gap* in the walls; all the cells are flat-roofed; those on the side where the double tower rises are two-storeyed, and it is possible the others, or some of the

others, may have also been two-storeyed; the cells are, some of them, full to choking of uninteresting naked Jain statues of all sizes, from 1 foot to 8 feet in height, and of several sorts of stone. At present a Samádh, with a *charan*, stands in the centre of the court-yard, and is evidently a modern erection built of the materials of the surrounding ruined towers and cells.

Several isolated small heaps of ruins and mounds indicate the sites of numerous temples all about the place, but none are of any special interest. The Sati pillars are numerous and very remarkable; they are very high, some being as much as 14 feet above the mounds at their base; the largest group stands a short way to the north-east of the ruins just described, within the ruins of a semi-fortified palace or citadel of the mediæval period, dating not over 400 years, if so much; the oldest Sati inscription (there are very few) is, as far as I can remember, not over 350 years old, and is quite devoid of interest.

This group of ruins extends with occasional breaks almost to the foot of the hill in a westerly direction, and it is clear the place was once a large and flourishing city. Tradition says the place was originally called Barnagar (Varâha nagara), and was destroyed by Rajah Chhatar Sál. I am willing to accept the tradition as correct, there being nothing in the style of the buildings, as far as the ruins shew, to assign to the city a much higher antiquity, although there is no doubt that the city which Chhatar Sál destroyed must itself have risen on the ruins of a still more ancient and far more flourishing city, retaining perhaps the old name.

A low, small hill lies about ¾ths of a mile to the north-east of these ruins, and on its nearest projecting spur are remains of the basement platform of a large temple. Numerous other ruins and remains of tanks lie about, as well as a few Sati pillars and modern chhatris, and the remains of a paved road running from the east towards the ruins of Varâha nagara.

About ¾ths of a mile to the north by a little east of the modern city of Pathâri are some temples; one at the foot of a small hill, known as the Anhora hill, and one half-way up its side, are worthy of note; the lower one has some curious pillars; it is known as the Kutki marh, and is used as a place of worship.

To the south-east of these, about 1¼ mile, are several ruins; a group of several is known as the Sát marhya, though there are more than seven, if all the temples be counted, and

less than seven if only those which have not *now* become mere mounds be counted. The name was probably conferred when the later Varâha nagara, destroyed by Chhatar Sál, was in a flourishing condition, and when probably seven of the small temples were standing entire; they are small square shrines, flat-roofed generally, one large stone of sufficient size forming the roof; they are Brahmanical.

Close to the city of Pathàri, and to the east of the lower tank described before, are several ruins; one of a small temple, of which the interior section is given in plate, is remarkable; it is dedicated to Párvati, and is very old, dating certainly to the eighth century of Samvat, as recorded in a short line, probably a pilgrim's record, on the door jamb; the other ruins are of no especial interest.

Altogether, the ruins in and about Pathâri cover a space of about 6 square miles. Besides these, all of which I have visited, there are said to be others further off; but being unable to ascertain particulars about them beyond this, that they are small, and of no special note, I did not seek for them.

The great hill of Pathâri, known as the Ganjnáth hill, is not without its share of sacred edifices: the ruins of two temples exist, one on the top, with traces of there having once been extensive plots of ground, on the nearly level top of the hill attached to it; the other, on the side of the hill. There are remains of a third on the highest peak of the hill at the south end, and at that end, three-fourths, or half-way up the side of the hill, is a cave, perhaps natural, but artificially enlarged, smoothed and ornamented with pillars; the cave consists of three chambers, all but one well lighted by clefts in the rock, and windows; the sculptures inside are of various kinds, Brahmanical and Jain, the prevailing ornament of the pillars, which are of the ordinary pattern, is the lotus medallion. This is fabled to be the cave where the devotee, or *muni*, who enriched the shepherd, lived: below the cave are remains of a large temple, built on a stone platform; several minor caves exist, most of them natural, but artificially smoothed; and several portions of the plain rock surface also appear to have been smoothed, but with what object is not known. At the north end of the hill, at a re-entering gorge, there rises up, sheer from the bottom, a most picturesque column, of bare black rock, flanked by flat, smooth, black, square, tower-like rocks, making up a singularly imposing whole. No inscriptions occur on the hill anywhere, though I long looked for some on the smoothed surfaces and in the caves.

Here I close this notice of Pathâri.

About 10 miles to the south-west of Pathâri is *Udaypur*. The modern city is built of, and on, the ruins of a more ancient one; it is surrounded by a dilapidated-looking wall. The city is about 1½ mile long in its longest dimensions; the wall surrounding it appears to date to the Muhammadan period, not only from the gates, which are clearly Muhammadan, and some of which are inscribed, but from the materials used in the construction, both of them and of the walls; the style of some of the gateways is similar to that of the Lâl Darwâza in Delhi, and are built partly of similar red stone.

The modern fort may be described in general terms as an irregular parallelogram; it has several gates which are named as follows: the north gate is named the Chandeli gate, and another is named the Khirki gate; the west gate is named the Chatúa gate; Saroji gate is another; the Garari gate and Motia gates are on the east.

Of the gates, some are in the Hindú style, but most in the Muhammadan; the one styled Chandeli gate is, perhaps, one of the most ancient; the gates on the south side are dilapidated, and no particular names exist; but there are the remains of a great entrance on that side, defended by no less than three successive gates. Of these, one is probably a city gate, dividing it off into wards, or *mohallas;* remains of such exist in different parts of the city.

Entering by the south gate just mentioned as being ruined, the traveller, after passing several dilapidated-looking houses, enters into a great square or bázár, about 400 feet long, but not so broad; on the four sides of this square, or oblong, are long ranges of colonnades, whose continuity is only broken by the roads and entrances that lead into the square; these colonnades are constructed exclusively of plain Hindú pillars supporting flat roofs: some large structure once appears to have occupied a central position within the square, of which now only a few bare traces exist. More than one new pillared hall has been built within this square in recent times, but they are of no interest. In a deserted and ruined corner of the court are also some Sati pillars and a Muhammadan tomb; none worthy of any special note. The entire place is now a dreary solitude, a single house alone at one corner, built out of the ruins, is inhabited, but notwithstanding this, during a visit of about 3 hours to this

place on a certain occasion I saw no human beings; the general effect of the long line of pillars is very good, but this is solely due to their extent.

To the south of the city, at a distance of about half a mile, is a hill of a very remarkable appearance; a huge mass of rock rises sheer and abrupt from the top of the conical hill below, presenting at a distance the exact appearance of a fortified castle. This, however, is not a castle, but a natural solid mass of rock, though it is evident that it could, and probably was, made use of as a fort At the foot, or rather some little way above the foot of the cone, however, there runs a wall built of huge uncemented stones, 18 feet thick at the present crest, which, however, is not the original crest of the wall, that having disappeared long ago; several gates existed in this wall, which did not go quite round the hill, but inclosed only a portion, in the form of a circular sector, the two radial lines of the sector being represented by two similar massive walls running straight up the side of the hill to meet the tower-like mass above The entire place is deserted, and the inhabitants of the adjoining city could give me no information whatever regarding it; it has not even a name that I could hear of

The north gate of this strong fortress (for it must have been very strong in its day) is still in tolerable order, but it shows signs of having been repaired or altered by the Muhammadans: close to this gate is a dargah of a Muhammadan saint, respected in a vague sort of way by the people, who, however, being mostly Hindús, do not seem to care much about it. I could not ascertain the name of the saint, who is generally known as Pir A photograph of this remarkable hill has been taken, and with the aid of a magnifier, the lines of fort walls may be seen; the view was taken from the roof of the north-west gateway of the great mandir which will presently be noticed.

Within the modern city are three ancient temples; two of these are small, and I content myself with a passing mention of them; they are all kept in fair order, and the smaller ones are whitewashed; all are used for purposes of worship at the present day; the two minor ones are similar to the small ones at Mahiyar, being simple towers with porticoes in front, supported on pillars; access to them is denied. The great temple, however, is particularly interesting, both from its antiquity, dating to 1116 Samvat, corresponding to A. D. 1059, from the numerous inscriptions covering its walls, lying

within and around it, from the exquisite beauty, singularity and size of its various parts and of the whole, and from the legends connected with it.

Tradition asserts that this temple was built by Raja Udayájit of Dhéránagar, a Ponwár Rájput, and it is so far right, as the name of Raja Udayáditya is mentioned in the inscription (see Vol. XVII, Journal, "Asiatic Society, Bengal"), but the rest of the tradition is quite silly. The following is a version I obtained here. I have omitted parts.

Raja Udayájit of Dhéránagar was a Ponwár Rájput. On one of his hunting excursions, outstripping his followers, he came alone to a jungle on fire; while looking on, he perceived a serpent, oppressed by the heat, issue out of a hole in the ground within the burning area, but it could not escape being surrounded by fire. The Raja on his horse, standing under a Chandan tree close to the fire, seeing the vain efforts of the serpent to escape the heat and pitying it, stretched out his lance through the flames to the serpent, who, twisting himself round it, was brought out of the fire. The serpent now begged of the Raja to put him into water to relieve his burns, as he was scorched all over, but there being no water close, the Raja informed the serpent that he could not do as desired until he could ride home. The serpent, however, pleaded very hard, and told the Raja that he would die through pain and want of water before the Raja could reach his palace, and begged, as no other means presented itself, that the Raja would allow him to place his head within the Raja's mouth, that so, at least, he might have some relief. The Raja, however, did not like this, and told the serpent that he mistrusted him, and could not act as desired. The naga thereupon called on God to witness that he would do the Raja no harm; assured by this, the Raja took the serpent and put him into his mouth. The serpent, thus put into the mouth, went into the Raja's stomach.

The Raja on his return related the entire circumstance to his nobles; they all assured the Raja that means could easily be found to extract the serpent, if he did not come out voluntarily; these things happened when the Raja was 12 years of age. On finding the serpent did not come out, various means were resorted to, but all to no purpose, the serpent persistently remaining in his strange quarters, and the Raja's paunch gradually increasing, till, when he became 18 years of age, he had become a perfect skeleton, but with an enormous paunch, and thinking he had not long to live,

he determined to go to Kâsi to die. Thus resolved, he distributed all his possessions among his friends, intending to go alone, without even taking his chief Râni with him; the Râni would, however, not thus be left behind, but insisted on accompanying her husband; they accordingly set out with a few faithful followers, and reached a place called Murtezanagar; here the Râni happening to lie awake in the middle of the night fanning her husband, heard a slight noise from under the bed, and saw a serpent crawl out of a hole in the ground, hiss, and rising up, bend over the Raja's mouth with expanded hood. Presently another serpent issued out of the Raja's mouth, and the two began roundly rating each other. "You," said the serpent of the hole to the one from the Raja's mouth, "have done evil; what conscience have you, vile thing, that in spite of a solemn oath" (literally with a sword interposed. This expression means an oath, oaths being taken over a sword with Rájputs) "you are thus injuring to death the man who saved your life! If any one were listening, I would disclose a plan which would effectually rid the Raja of you." To this the other replied, "You who are seated on immense wealth will not escape, for I can disclose how you are to be killed." Thus recriminating, they unfolded to each other the means by which they could be killed, and retired each to his own quarters; the serpent from the Raja's mouth returning to his station in his stomach.

The Rani, who had heard all, determined to carry out the plan for the destruction of the serpent living within the Raja's body, and notwithstanding all the Raja's opposition and anger, succeeded in destroying it. She then destroyed the other by pouring boiling ghee into his hole in the ground, and dug up the immense wealth he had guarded. In commemoration and gratitude for the Raja's recovery and the treasure here found, the place was called Udipur from Udyâditya, the Raja's name, and the singularly beautiful temple, which has escaped even the fury of Aurangzeb, was then built. The Raja established himself in this new capital for some time and greatly adorned it with public buildings.

The temple is built of red sandstone, and stands in the centre of a large paved and raised platform; on all sides of this platform there once ran walls, with seats as in section, see Plate VII, but this has long disappeared except in the masjid at the back: surrounding the great central temple stood at one time seven minor temples as at Pathâri, but somewhat differently arranged. All of them have now disappeared or

been converted into, and surrounded by, private dwelling-houses, and access to them debarred.

The temple at the back, if one existed, as I believe it did, judging from the example at Pathâri, does not now exist in its place, but, occupying nearly the whole extent of the projecting piece of platform on this side, stands a Muhammadan masjid, consisting of a hall with a flat roof, supported by four rows of Hindú pillars, the last row consisting of dwarf pillars resting on the seat which runs along the back and side walls; there are twelve pillars in each row, the two extreme ones being dwarf ones, resting on the seats; they are not all alike, but some attempt at a symmetrical arrangement of the dissimilar pillars appears to have been made with partial success; the pillars are fine, massive ones, but not otherwise remarkable; at the centre of the back wall exists the niche of the *mehrab*; a few masons' marks, and short lines occur on many of the pillars in this masjid, and conclusively prove, if such evidence were at all necessary, that they are Hindú.

In front of the masjid, and somewhat retired, behind the prolongation of the line of the principal panel, at the back of the tower of the great temple, stand, one on either side, two archways, forming, as it were, the entrances to the masjid. These archways are neither large nor in any way remarkable, and are rather built as matters of form, than as real entrances into the masjid, for, the space between and on either side beyond them being open, access to the masjid is easy throughout its whole front; these arches are inscribed, and Aurangzeb's name, I believe, occurs in them.

The legend regarding this masjid is, that the Emperor Aurangzeb, on his return from the Dakhin, passed through this place, and seeing this temple, ordered its demolition and the construction of a masjid with its materials. In obedience to his orders the work of demolition was begun by cutting off the limbs, or otherwise mutilating the sculptured statues that adorn it, and at the present day most of the statues are so mutilated; but at night, the deity of the temple, Mahâdeva, appeared to him in a dream, and ordered him on pain of death to desist from his work of demolition, and as an earnest of his threat he would, he said, cause his listener to fall ill. The next morning Aurangzeb found himself ill, and accordingly, afraid of further irritating the deity of the temple, he ordered the stoppage of the work of destruction; vast quantities of gunpowder, that had been

stored in the temple to blow it up, were taken out and the temple left unharmed, but a masjid was ordered to be erected at the back of the temple, which has been described above, and a mandate of Aurangzeb directed all those who came to pray in the masjid to enter the temple first, and, having done reverence there to Mahâdeva, to enter the masjid.

Whatever the credit attaching to this legend, certain it is that at the present day the temple is frequented by both Hindús and Muhammadans, and the lingam within equally reverenced by both. The object of worship is a large black stone lingam now inclosed in a shell of highly polished yellow metal said to be gold. I was allowed to enter the sanctum on taking off my boots, but was not allowed to touch or examine the lingam. No opposition was offered to my entering the temple and examining every part of it except the sanctum, which alone I was requested not to enter with boots on.

As may be seen from the plans and photographs, this temple is singularly beautiful both in plan and in elevation, and although large, the parts are so well proportioned, that it does not look large, and it is only on measurement that its real size is realized, the execution is fully equal to, if not superior, to any other ancient temple I have seen. The sculpture is rather common-place, representing the usual Hindú divinities in the usual forced attitudes. but they are not obscene as at Khajuráhá, and though obscene figures are not wanting, they are confined to the minor bands or rows of small figures, and are not conspicuous. But it is in excellence of execution of the floral sculptured ornamentation that this temple surpasses all others They are executed with remarkable fineness and freedom, and are not overcrowded so as to destroy effect, but by a judicious interposition of broad plain surfaces worked with exquisite care, the ornamental value both of the flowered bands and of the plain are mutually enhanced. Doubtless a great deal of the beauty of the carvings is due to the superior quality of the stone here used, and I believe the Khajuráhá temples, if built of similar materials, would, some of them, have been more beautiful.

The pillars in the interior are singularly massive, and yet beautiful; the main ones supporting the great dome of the Mahâ Mandapa, are 2 feet 9 inches square from the bottom, to a height of 5 feet 6 inches; they then become octagonal with sides of 11 inches each. This octagonal part of the pillar is 3 feet 8 inches high. Over it comes the circular cap,

and over this the bracket capital, the last of great massiveness; the cap is 1 foot 3 inches in height to the bottom of the bracket capital, making the total height of pillar from floor to bottom of bracket capital 10 feet 5 inches, the pillar thus being, inclusive of its capital proper, only 3·8 diameters in height, a massiveness not attained by any other pillar that I have seen; and yet so gracefully are the various portions proportioned, that it is not only not displeasing, but it is absolutely beautiful, and particularly beautiful in the position it occupies, forming the main support of the great heavy dome. Here it conveys an idea of strength and stability, combined with beauty which is unsurpassed: the form of the capital and of the bracket capital can be seen in the photograph of the portico of the temple.

The great dome is formed of overlapping courses of stones, ranged in successive diminishing circles over each other. Twelve ribs, each rib composed of exquisitely sculptured females, at once adorn and strengthen this beautiful roof; and this roof, thus adorned, and as it were vivified by the sculptures, rests on the massive pillars below, forming a whole of unsurpassed beauty and harmony. It is a pity that the interior is so dark and so blackened with soot as to render invisible a great deal of the minute carvings; and, as if this were not enough, a huge dingy curtain, once red, but now black, stretched horizontally right across, under the opening of the dome, effectually hides away all the exquisite beauty of the dome within, which, as the curtain is not allowed to be removed, can only be seen by kind rents in it, and with great trouble.

The tower over the sanctum of this temple differs materially both in plan and external elevation from the examples at Khajuráhá, and is worthy of special study. The finial ornament at the summit is also curious, such finials being rare in the age to which this temple belongs. It is not my purpose now to enter into an examination of the principles which appear to have regulated the form and dimensions of the various parts of this tower. I merely wish to point out the difference between it and other examples of nearly the same period, in a place not so far as not to be influenced by, or to exert an influence on, each other; and to point out that the method of judging by style alone is one that cannot be absolutely depended upon in the absence of all other data to determine with certainty the age of a building. The method is very valuable as an auxiliary when supported by

inscriptions, historic notices, or other data; but it is a mistake to imagine that in any one district (and still less in different districts) but one rigid style prevailed at any one period to the exclusion of all others.

ERAN

Eran is now a place of no particular importance, about 6 miles to the north of Pathâri, on the junction of the Bina and Kamti Rivers, two tributaries of the Betwa. It possesses several very interesting remains of ancient times; the principal are a monolithic pillar known as Bhim Gada, another known as Bhim's mother's churning stick, a colossal *varáha*, a statue of Bhim Sen, and several fragments.

The Bhim Gada is a monolithic pillar, square below and octagonal above; the square portion is over 20 feet high, but a great and unknown portion of it is traditionally said to be buried in the ground. The pillar measures 2 feet 9 inches square; it is surmounted by a corrugated cap, like the example at Pathâri; like it, too, this is surmounted by an abacus precisely as at Pathâri, described above; the peculiarity, however, of this pillar is, that the corrugated cap is supported by a four-armed lion bracket; the abacus is surmounted, as at Pathâri, by two human figures, placed back to back, facing east and west, and popularly known as Ram and Lakshman; they have their arms hanging straight down their sides, but whereas the statue at Pathâri is broken, these are entire, and enable us to determine with certainty the forms of the statues which surmounted the pillar at Pathâri; inscriptions exist on the pillar on a tablet facing west, and there are two smaller inscriptions on the east and south faces.

Bhim's mother's churning stick is a shaft, octagonal throughout, the lower octagonal portion above ground, measures 7 feet 9 inches in perimeter, and is 9 feet 3 inches high. Over this rises another octagonal shaft, leaving all round an offset or step of 3 inches; both these are formed of one piece of stone. No inscriptions exist: it stands to the east of the *varáha* statue and south of the *lát*.

The statue known as Bhim Sen's is a colossal figure facing east, dressed in a dhoti, and wearing a *janeo*, or sacrificial thread; he holds a sword in one hand, and a *gada* in the other, and has an immense round shield on his back. He has bangles on his wrists; round him lie scattered fragments of pillars, and four pillars, still standing, shew that a building of

some importance existed and enshrined the statue, which probably represents one of the many forms of Vishnu.

Among the miscellaneous fragments in Eran is an inscribed pillar in the bazar; the inscription has been copied; the pillar is an ordinary pillar of stone of the usual square pattern; the bazar is cruciform, but is now deserted except a small portion; many old stone pillars and architraves, &c., have been used up in it, but this appears to have been recently done, as the deserted portion has no stone fragments; the pillars resemble those lying about near the colossal statue of Bhim, but possess no particular interest.

The most important and interesting relic of antiquity by far in Eran is the colossal *varáha*. It stands to the south of Bhim's statue, it measures 15 feet 6 inches from snout to tail, the height is 10 feet 10 inches, a garland composed of small human figures sculptured on a band is sculptured round its neck, the body is not, as usual, covered with human figures, but by small circular ornaments. A projection or hump, 6 inches high, rises up on the back over the shoulders; an ancient Gupta inscription exists on the underside of the neck.

This *varáha* is interesting both for its size and beauty, and for being the oldest known Brahmanical statue so far as I can now call to mind in this part of India, or indeed in all India. I do not mean to imply that more ancient statues do not exist; I mean only that inscribed Brahmanical ones, fixing the age of the statue indisputably, have not yet been found of a date anterior to this. It is very remarkable that this oldest statue should be a varâha. I should expect that if any inscribed statues, older than this, of the Vaishnavic pantheon be discovered, they would probably be either of the fish or tortoise incarnations of Vishnu, for it appears to me that the account in Hindu books of the various avatârs of Vishnu indicates the *successive* (though not exclusive) forms of images worshipped in Aryan India. It is not here necessary to demonstrate that Vaishnavism in its earlier phases is only a variant form of the Phallic cultus. The primary religion of the Aryans in India, as shewn in the Vedas, was not Phallic; they therefore must have adopted it from the races they subdued in India. Phallic worship appears to have existed among them in various forms,—the early Vaishnavic forms and the Linga worship, which is supposed to have co-existed with early Vaishnavism

The Purâns represent the fish, tortoise and varâha forms as successive manifestations of the preserving power of

nature, a power which a little consideration must identify with the generative or reproductive power. The question is, how, or why, it happens that they are represented as successive; was it that the older forms became obsolete and yielded to new forms? or was it, that, as the primitive Aryans gradually advanced in conquest, they successively came upon tribes who had these distinct symbols of worship, which the conquerors, whether out of policy or other motives, successively adopted as their own? This last appears the more probable, for if it were merely a change in the symbolism, adopted to re-vivify obsolete notions, the intimate connexion of lingam worship with early Vaishnavism, whether its predecessor or its contemporary, could not have been forgotten; but if they successively conquered tribes who worshipped the various symbols, their identity would be likely to be overlooked, or if not overlooked, ignored on politic grounds. The difficulty lies in accounting for the grouping together of the fish or tortoise forms of the Phallic cultus, apart from the Saivic; that the fish and tortoise forms are really phallic, can be seen easily from existing old statues of those avatârs; then why the separation between Vaishnavism and Saivism? Perhaps, at that early period, no distinction was actually recognized between them.

A silly local legend states that this place was founded by Raja Bárát or Vairát, and that Bhim Pandu came here in disguise during his exile; at the expiration of his term of exile he, in joy, shot off an arrow named *kichak*; this arrow he shot at a deer, but it hit the hoof of a cow instead, and split it; the cow, however, was not injured. The wound healed immediately, but the hoof remained cloven, and the hoofs of all other cows became cloven also at the same time, and have remained so ever since. The Raja witnessing this miracle found out who the strange sojourner really was; on this Bhim Pandu left there his *gada* or *lât* and his mother's churning stick, and having erected his own statue, departed.

GYÂRISPUR.

Gyárispur is a small place about 8 miles from Bágrod, on the road to Bhilsá. It contains several remains, among which may be mentioned a large temple on the hill, about three-fourths of the way up the western slope of the hill, a smaller one at the foot on the north, and the remains of a third a short way off it to the north-east. There are, besides several old tanks, remains of a gateway of a temple, and

some old masjids (one inscribed) in the city. On the hill to the west of the city on which the great temple stands are also remains of solid ramparts or towers, and remains of a tope, or what looks like a tope; on the hill to the east of the city are remains of two or three topes; the topes have all been opened before, at least so the people unanimously assert, and the remains testify to the truth of their statements; the city is picturesquely situated in the valley between these two hills

The remains of the temple to the north-east of the hill consist of several pillars of beautiful forms (and mostly inscribed) with their architraves and flat slabbed roof over them still intact; it was a Saivic temple, as the statue over the doorway indicates. The *grihagarbha* has long disappeared, but the pillars still exist entire and uninjured, all but the statues adorning them, which are mutilated and injured to some extent. The temple was one in the usual Chandel style of architecture, with portico, mandapa, maha mandapa, and sanctum. Within a stone's throw of it stands the modern dâk bungalow.

The other temple is curious, consisting of three chambers longitudinally placed with a verandah in front; the central chamber has the usual tower roof; the verandah is probably modern, but the side-chambers do not appear modern. The temple appears to have been Brahmanical, as, although the figure of Buddha, seated, is sculptured on the central entrance architrave, the two side-rooms have not Buddhist but Brahmanical figures, of which one is Siva. I infer, therefore, that the temple was Vaishnavic, dedicated to Buddha, considered as an *avatâr of Vishnu*; a small inscription exists on one of the door jambs. Vaishnavic temples in which the principal object of adoration is Buddha are extremely rare; but there is no doubt that at one period the Buddha avatâr of Vishnu was worshipped by Hindus, as at other times the various other avatârs were, for here and at Makarbai near Mahoba, as before noticed, are temples each with three sanctums, differently disposed it is true in the two cases, but agreeing in this, that Buddha is the principal figure in both, with Siva for one of the subordinate figures, and, by inference, Brahma for the other subordinate figure.

The temple on the hill, however, is by far the most remarkable and interesting of the remains here; it is built with its back against the solid rock; in fact, the rock has been cut into shape to fit the temple, to which it serves as a back wall.

This temple stands on a great platform, partly obtained by cutting away the sloping hill-side to a level, and partly by building up an immense revetement on the hillside lower down to support the front of the platform; the revetement is very high and massive, built of rough blocks of stone without cementing material of any kind; the wall slopes upwards; this great revetement adds greatly to the effect of the temple as seen from below the hill, though now so densely is the hill covered with jangal, that it is rarely one can get a view of the temple on its majestic plinth, except from a great distance, when the whole can be distinctly seen, and forms a singularly beautiful picture.

The temple is built in a very massive style; the basement mouldings are very few, but bold and simple to a fault; two inscriptions on the jambs of the entrance pillars give no clue to its age (one line, besides, is very roughly chiselled); the characters of the inscription do not appear to me so old as the temple, judging from the simplicity of its mouldings, but, as I have observed before, no independent reliable opinion can be formed of the age of a structure solely from its style, and without other and independent corroborative evidence. In this particular instance the corroborative evidence is found in comparing it with the Gadarmal temple at Patházri, the date of which is fixed by the characters of its inscriptions; and the proximity of the two temples renders them especially favorable for comparison with each other. The ruins of the temple below, noticed before, shew a very different style to this one, and from the difference in styles, ought to be placed far posterior to it. I accordingly ascribe to the temple on the hill the same age nearly as the Gadarmal temple, but to the one below an age not anterior to the tenth century, or about a century and a half later.

The interior arrangements of the temple are no less remarkable than the exterior; the hall is not a small square as usual, but a long hall divided by two longitudinal rows of pillars into a nave and two aisles. The sanctum is small and excessively dark, and the whole place is so full of bats, and the stench is so great, that it is no easy matter to enter and obtain even a cursory glance of the interior. A passage goes round, or rather would have gone round, the sanctum uniformly if the temple had stood isolated from the rock, as in the examples at Khajuráhá. This temple is larger than any of them; numerous statues lie inside, of which the most remarkable is a small one of Maya Devi under the sál tree,

this is very well executed, and the execution is not much inferior to the execution of the Sánchi bas-reliefs. This temple may have been originally a Buddhist temple, but from a fragment of a lingam found inside, I prefer to think, however, that, as at Pathâri, the temple was really Brahmanical, appropriated subsequently by Buddhists; and ascribing this temple to the same period as the Gadarmal temple at Pathâri (a judgment warranted by the simplicity of its style and ornament), this inference becomes highly plausible.

On the top of the hill are remains of walls and towers of rubble of great thickness; it is possible a fort once crowned the top of the hill. The topes on these hills are not tall, but low, flattish mounds, evidences of their antiquity, for, as General Cunningham has laid down from an examination of numerous examples of ascertained dates, the height of topes in proportion to their diameters gradually and steadily increases as we come to more recent times.

From the evidence then of these topes, of the temple, of the temple at Pathâri, and of the remains at Eran, it is clear that we must place the rise in prosperity of this part of the country at a remote period, and anterior to the later Guptas. In connection with this point I refer to Volume II, "Archæological Survey of India," para. 308 *et seq.*, where Padmavati, the capital of the Nágas, contemporaries of the Guptas, is identified indisputably with Narwar. This identification is most important, and I infer that the earlier remains of temples in this district date back to the Nága kings, the more so, as they are mostly Brahmanical, while the topes carry back the prosperity of the district to the period of Asoka in the third century B. C. It appears, then, that this part of India was in a highly flourishing state from a very remote antiquity, up to say, the Muhammadan conquest; first as a Buddhist state probably down to the eighth century, and then as a Brahmanical state, with a temporary lapse into Buddhism.

I could hear of no traditions regarding this place, except a vague account of the destruction of the temples by the Muhammadans in the time of Naurang Sháh, which is a name that is usually given to Aurangzeb.

The topes are reported to have been opened by Europeans.

Bhilsa is already well known from the work of General Cunningham on its antiquities, and from Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship, though what connection serpent worship has with the ancient Buddhist remains at Bhilsa it is difficult to see.

At Piperai are a few fragments of ancient times of no particular interest; there are also several Maharatha forts on the road from Bhilsa to Kulháras, which are not worth particular mention. Kulháras itself possesses very many Sati pillars; a very large one is especially remarkable; there are also some dargahs and siwálás which have probably been built of older materials; numerous fragments of ancient times lie scattered about uncared for, and not deserving of special mention.

At Sipri are also some fine ancient remains, converted to Muhammadan uses, and not of any special interest.

From Sipri to Gwálior are several other remains, tne most remarkable of which is a large pillared hall, looking from a distance like a forest of stone pillars. This great hall, known as Chounsat Khamda, appears to have once formed a temple, which has since been altered to a square-pillared hall by Muhammadans, and is now sacred to a Muhammadan pir; it is about 9 miles from Sipri and about ¾ mile off the road. In a deserted spot, about 2 miles west of this, is a small temple with a curious Dravidian roof, the portion of roof over entrance not retreating like the rest, but rising plumb, and forming a sort of pediment over the entrance; the mouldings of the basement are plain, but not inelegant.

A mile north of Satanwâra are very numerous Sati stones, some very remarkable, both for their sculptures and antiquity. I describe one, dated Samvat 1016; one of, if not the oldest, Sati pillars yet known. It has three rows of sculptures—first row, a man and a woman, one on each side of a lingam, and a raised altar; second row, a man at full length lying, and a woman crouching, weeping at his feet; third row, a man on horseback fighting with a foot soldier with sword and shield; the horse has housings down to his knees.

Several others, but not so old, are to be found in the place, similarly sculptured, shewing the manner of death of the hero, and the number of wives that the man had; a few have more than one female sculptured.

There also lie about several fragments of statues and mounds, evidently of small temples; on one of the architraves is sculptured a figure of Buddha, seated, with four figures on each side of him.

There is no doubt that these ruins represent the remains of a large place, which once extended from the great pillared hall, spoken of above, a distance of probably 4 miles; no

legends or traditions whatever have come to my knowledge regarding the place.

Near Dholagarh are the remains of several small temples to right and left of, and close to, the road; there is nothing very remarkable about them, but they shew that this place was once of some importance. One great Saivic temple, of which the floor and the *argha* still lie there, must have been of large size; and altogether, there could not have been less than six temples close to each other, of which only one now stands tolerably entire. They appear to have been all small ones.

Near the dâk bungalow, one mile south of Mohoná, lie the ruins of numerous Hindu shrines, none of any great size, but all built of large stones, finely cut, and roofed by immense single slabs, as described at Pathâri; of these, one still standing, and still used as a place of worship, is inscribed on both jambs of its door-way; the inscriptions both bear date the year 1163 Samvat.

NARWAR.

Nothing of any particular note occurs on the remainder of the road to Gwálior; the places of interest, Narwar and Himatgarh, lie off the direct road. Narwar has a very romantic legend attached to it; it is a version of the story of Raja Nala, and as General Cunningham does not detail it in his report, I here subjoin an abstract of the version as related to me:—

In old times there lived a pious, great, and good Raja named Nala; he reigned in Narwar. On one occasion a dispute arose between Sat and Lâkshmi (Truth and Fortune) as to which was the greater; after various attempts to get the dispute decided by other Rajas, who all declared themselves unable to decide, and referred the disputants to Raja Nala, they arrived at his court and propounded the question; Raja Nala unhesitatingly replied Lakshmi is the daughter of Sat. Lakshmi, enraged at this decision, deserted his house, and the Raja soon found himself so reduced from want, that he, with his wife, determined to go and ask the assistance of his father-in-law. With this intent, leaving his regal power, he with his queen walked towards the city of his father-in-law; after proceeding some distance (2 or 3 days' journey), during which they could obtain no food, having no means to purchase it, they arrived on the banks of a stream from which the Raja caught some fish, and making them over to his wife, proceeded to perform his customary

ablutions and prayers, preparatory to eating his meal. The Rani in preparing the fish wounded her finger, and, on taking the dressed fish to wash on the river bank, the blood from her wound came in contact with the fish, which thereupon instantly started up alive and jumped into the stream; astonished and grieved, and thinking that if she related the actual facts to her husband she would not be believed, she, on his returning and asking for food, replied, that, being hungry, she had eaten it all; they then proceeded on their journey, and after great hardships arrived at their father-in-law's house. The servant at the door and the village people carried news of their arrival to their relatives, who, hearing of their distressed state, refused to believe they were Raja Nala and his Râni, and ordered them to be conveyed to the cattle-shed; and there provided with a resting place. Grieved at this treatment, but compelled by stern necessity, they went to the assigned place and waited for food. The day had now drawn to a close, and the whole household had eaten, when a female slave, pitying their distress, ventured to inform the mistress of the house, the sister-in-law of the Râni, that the travellers, her sister and brother-in-law, had received no food. The mistress, thereupon, ordered the female slave to give them her share of broken victuals, as there was none other left, and that next day she would get better fare for her share by way of recompense for her fasting. The slave, with heavy heart at their distress, brought the broken victuals and set before them, saying there was no other, and left them out of compassion to eat it in solitude. Raja Nala on this took the food and proceeding to a corner of the stable-yard addressed the earth: "If, oh earth! I have acquired any merit by my devotions, open thou and receive in deposit from me this food;" the earth opened, and having deposited the food, the Raja and Râni departed from the place unnoticed and uncared for. They then proceeded to the residence of an old friend. News of their approach and of their distress having reached the friend, he instantly set out with proper conveyances befitting the rank of the wretched travellers, and receiving them with cordial welcome, conducted them with every mark of love and esteem to his house, assigned them the great hall of worship for their residence, had them bathed and cleanly dressed, and after performing all the rites of hospitality and hearing the account of their misfortunes, placed his house and his fortune at their disposal for as long as they should stand in need of either, and

left them to rest. While not yet asleep, the Râni saw the golden statue of a peacock, which, adorned with a necklace worth nine lakhs, was standing in a niche in the wall of this hall of worship, open its beak and begin swallowing the necklace; she called the attention of the Raja to it, and both dumbly looked on. When the necklace had quite disappeared, the Raja and Râni found words for their surprise, and in great grief said to each other, "Oh! how great is our misfortune, that even an inanimate statue opens its mouth and acts like a living creature; assuredly, next morning the owner of the house, coming to worship and missing the necklace, will suspect that our poverty has tempted us to appropriate it, for who will believe our tale?" The Râni then detailed her adventure with the fishes, and they determined to depart during the night unknown to all, so that whatever suspicions might be excited by the disappearance of the necklace, they would be far away and would not have to bear in silence the suspicious looks of their kind, hospitable friend. They accordingly departed, and after many hardships reached Garh Pingla, where the Raja lived in poverty, earning his livelihood as a grass-cutter. In this state of wretchedness twelve long years passed; at the expiration of this time, a son was born to them; on the same day, a daughter was born to the Raja of Garh Pingla. When the ceremony of conferring names on the children arrived, Raja Nala was walking sorrowfully, thinking how he was to pay the expenses of the ceremony, when he met a Brahman returning from an entertainment given by the king on the occasion of naming his daughter. This man, taking pity on the poor grass-cutter, went in and casting the horoscope of the child, predicted that he would be a Raja, and that his name ought to be Dulhan. The astrologers and Brahmans in the Raja of Garh Pingla's palace also cast the horoscope of his daughter, named her Márwan, and declared that unless she were married to Raja Dulhan she would die; they further declared that her husband had been born on the same day as she in a grass-cutter's cottage. The Raja, hearing this, caused all the grass-cutters in the city to be forthwith collected. Raja Nala, in great fear, kept behind, but was eventually compelled to go. Having ascertained in what house the future husband of his daughter was born, but wishing to make a trial, the Raja of Garh Pingla ordered victuals of all sorts to be distributed among the assembled grass-cutters, but gave strict orders that no fire was to be given them. In vain the grass-cutters tried to

cook their food; no fire was to be had. In this state of things, as soon as Raja Nala approached his *chúlá*, fire of itself issued forth from it. The Raja of Garh Pingla was now satisfied that the grass-cutter was no common individual. He at once led him to a seat of honor near his throne, and, in spite of his humble protestations of being undeserving of the honor, the Raja of Pingla forced the disguised grass-cutter to sit down, and finally obtained from him the history of his misfortune. Delighted on finding that the fated husband of his daughter was, by right of birth, well deserving of her, the Raja caused the nuptials of his daughter with Raja Nala's son to be celebrated with great magnificence. After this, Raja Nala finding prosperity return, went to his own kingdom, where the people received him back as their king with great rejoicings. Being reinstated in his kingdom, he now again went to visit his wife's relatives, but this time in royal state. The relatives of his wife, informed of his approach, came forward a long way out of the town to receive and conduct him to their palace. Arrived there, the best rooms were placed at his service, but he, rejecting all their offers of hospitality, proceeded bare foot, as he had come when in distress, to the very stable-shed where twelve years ago he had been lodged and starved, and there prostrating himself prayed to the earth that the deposit which he had left with her twelve years ago might be given back to him. The earth accordingly opened and displayed the broken victuals which had been given to him and his wife. He took it out, and shewing it to his wife's relatives before the assembled multitude, upbraided them with their treatment of his wife and himself when he had come to them in distress, and leaving them overwhelmed with confusion, proceeded to his friend's; there the friend received him and his wife with their customary cordial hospitality, and after attending to all his wants began questioning him regarding his sudden disappearance from their house twelve years ago. They were at this moment all seated in the very hall where, twelve years ago, they had been placed by their friend for the night, and while talking, the Râni, with a joyful exclamation, drew the attention of all to the statue of the peacock in the niche, which was seen slowly disgorging the necklace it had swallowed. Raja Nala pointing to it said,—"My friend, if, when twelve years ago, when my wife and I were in this room alone, we had told you that the peacock had swallowed the necklace, would you have believed us? You would assuredly have suspected that, forced

by poverty, I had appropriated it; for this I left you so suddenly." The friends then talked of the wonderful and terrible persecution of fortune Raja Nala had undergone, and in due course the Raja returned to his capital. In process of time the son of the Raja, Dulhan, became of age, and Brahmans were consulted to name an auspicious day to set out to escort the bride Râni Márwan to Garh Narwar. The Brahmans after deliberation declared that, unless Raja Dulhan could ride in one day to Garh Pingla, he would assuredly die if he consummated his marriage with Râni Márwan. Alarmed at this, Raja Nala ordered throughout his dominions that no one, on pain of death, should ever mention the name of Garh Pingla or of Râni Márwan, and he married Dulhan to two celestial nymphs, Harewa and Parewa, who kept jealous and affectionate guard over him. While these things were passing here, Râni Márwan had also become of age, and as she saw all her companions one by one marry and forsake her, she began to inquire when her turn would come; her companions then informed her of the circumstances of her marriage with Raja Dulhan, and how it had been declared that unless he could ride from Garh Narwar to Garh Pingla in one day, he would die if he claimed her. After various ineffectual attempts by her father to induce Raja Nala to send his son, she built a palace on the banks of a tank in the outskirts of the city, and obtained her father's orders that all foreigners who came into the city should take up their residence there, receiving her hospitality during their stay; one condition alone was attached to their stay, that neither they nor their cattle were to be allowed to bathe in, or in any way use, the tank. It happened once that a rich merchant arriving, his servants took his cattle to the tank to drink; the merchant was accordingly brought up for punishment, the punishment being forfeiture of his property; the man pleaded his ignorance and the distance of his native country as excuses, saying he had come 700 coss from Garh Narwar; on hearing this, the Râni called him and offered, not only to let him off free from punishment, but to purchase his whole merchandise at double its current value, and to lade his animals with such other wares as he might wish to carry to Garh Narwar at her own cost, if he would convey for her a letter to Dulhan Raja; the man agreed, and accordingly set out, but Raja Nala came to hear of it, and seizing the man, took and destroyed the letter and expelled the man from the city under threat of death if he ever

attempted to act as messenger between Râni Márwan and Dulhan Raja. Râni Márwan hearing no news for long, at last concluded her messenger had failed to deliver the letter, and taking a favorite parrot she had trained, she tied a billet to his neck and sent it to carry it to her husband. Dulhan Raja and his wives were in the garden when the parrot arrived. Harewa and Parewa, by reason of their celestial origin, saw why the parrot had been sent, and contrived to catch and kill him and destroy the letter. A third time Râni Márwan determined to send a letter; it was proclaimed by beat of drum that half the Raj would be the reward of the man who would succeed in delivering a letter from Râni Márwan to Raja Dulhan; and that the man who undertook to do it should take up as an earnest of the sincerity of his intentions, and of the Râni's promise, the five bundles of betel leaf and two trays of gold and jewels which accompanied the drummer. A poor wretch, whose only relative was an old grandmother, and whose misery made him reckless of life, ventured forward. The man was carried to the Râni, who entrusted to him the letter, which she particularly directed should be given to Raja Dulhan's own hands alone. The man took it, and, assuming the costume of a musician, departed; when he arrived on the banks of the Sindh River, he met a number of female water-carriers, of whom he enquired how far Narwar was, and where Dulhan Raja lived; they in reply told him that several messengers bringing letters from Garh Pingla had been already killed. "Are you," said they, "tired of life? Return as you came." He, however, threw himself on the mercy of an old female garland weaver of the Raja and took up his residence in her house. Raja Dulhan was very fond of music, and this man, who was a proficient in it, soon contrived to attract his attention, and was summoned into the palace before the young Raja; here he sang and played so well as to please the Raja greatly, and when the Raja came forward to reward him for his trouble, he contrived, unperceived, to slip the letter into his hand. Dulhan Raja instantly secreted the letter, which he read, and determining, come what would, to claim his wife, informed his father of his intentions. His father then pointed out that a fatality hung over it, as Brahmans had declared that unless he could ride in one day to Garh Pingla and claim his wife, the journey would be fatal to him. Dulhan Raja then went into the stables and spoke to all his father's and his own riding animals, horses and camels, but none would

undertake to go 700 kos in one day; at last, an old blind camel, which used to be fed on the refuse left by the rest, was asked; she had been a native of Garh Pingla, and, although now in Garh Narwar, she used daily to go to Garh Pingla to drink water out of its tanks. She, furious with rage at the treatment she used to be subjected to here, and burning to shew her master her real worth, blind though she was of one eye, undertook at once to take Dulhan there in half a day! Henceforth, great care and attentions were bestowed on her till everything should be ripe for the flight. The suspicions of Harewa and Parewa were now excited, and so jealous and careful were they, that while sleeping each would put into her mouth one of the young Raja's fingers, so that he could not possibly move without their waking. Raja Dulhan, however, soon contrived a means of cheating them, by making and wearing sheaths for his fingers of the bark of a certain plant resembling the skin in color; his wives unsuspectingly put the sheathed fingers into their mouths, and when they fell asleep he quietly withdrew his fingers, leaving the sheaths in their mouths, and hastening to the stables led out the blind camel and started. Harewa and Parewa soon discovered the trick, and pursued, overtaking the Raja in the Chambal River, to cross which they held on to the camel's tail; the camel now advised Raja Dulhan to cut off her tail, that so his pursuers might be thrown into the river; this was done, and finally Dulhan Raja reached Garh Pingla, where everything proceeded to the satisfaction of all parties.

I have considerably abridged the legend; it is usually sung, but to translate a song into prose is to destroy it. Some versions of the legend add various minor details; some say that when Lakshmi left Raja Nala's house, an intense love of gambling seized the Raja, who gambled away his possessions, and that when the twelve years of misfortune were over, he regained the lost kingdom by winning it back at the gaming table. Wheeler, in his "History of India," gives the version of this story as met with in books.

It is not a little curious that the tribe of Nats, or wandering dancing jugglers, corresponding to the Gypsies elsewhere, will not go into Narwar, except through necessity; nor will tney ever perform within its walls on any account; an old curse is said to rest on it, and some one version of the story mentioned by General Cunningham is assigned as the reason.

Of Gwálior, General Cunningham has given so exhaustive an account that there is nothing to add. I shall only mention a legend, that one of the subterranean passages, of which there are many in Gwalior, is supposed to lead to Ágrá, though, if so, how the Chambal is passed is not explained. There is also a legend that the closed-up building near the main entrance is filled with leather money, which a certain King of Delhi forced to be used instead of metal coin, and the legend goes that, when at last forced to abandon it, it was all collected and deposited in this house in Gwálior, the entrance to which was magically closed; the man who will be able to open it will have the power of imposing again on India this leather currency.

Here closes my account of places visited during the season of 1871-72. I have refrained from all architectural discussions, intending to embody all such in a separate paper, when, with ampler materials, I shall have the power of checking the correctness of the principles which, from several examples, appear to have governed the construction of Chandel structures.

TOUR IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES, 1873-74.

My tour in 1873-74 began at Jabalpur, and closed at Bharhût; the districts comprised within the tour being the eastern half of the Central Provinces, to the east of the great Jabalpur and Nâgpur road, and of the Wain Gangá, with portions of Riwá. The total distance marched was nearly one thousand one hundred miles, exclusive of rail.

The antiquities at Jabalpur, Tewar, Bhera Ghât, Nagpur and Bharhût were examined jointly with the Director General of the Survey, General A. Cunningham, and it is needless for me to give accounts of paces which will be noticed in his reports. I shall, therefore, confine myself to noting only the antiquities in the places visited by myself alone.

My work this season has been much facilitated by the published "Central Provinces Gazetteer." The existence of this work, with its great mass of information, will render it necessary for me to notice *only* such fresh objects of interest as have been discovered. It is, accordingly, to be borne in mind that my notices are strictly supplementary to the information therein contained. The first place of note I went to from the immediate vicinity of Jabalpur was—

MANDLA.

Mandla is a small station on the right bank of the Narbada; the modern inhabited city extends down from the down-stream end of the old fort, for a distance of about two miles, the extreme west end containing the residences of the civil officers and the courts. It is a long straggling place, and of very little width. From the opposite bank of the river (which here is deep and quite unfordable, except just below the rapids beyond the extreme west end of the city) the place wears a gay appearance, due to the many small white-washed temples and ghats which line its banks. The fort is singularly picturesque; the extreme end tower standing nearly entire and isolated from the fort walls by a great gap, and the remains of other towers standing out bare and bold from the green tangled mass of jangal behind produce a great effect: at the south end is a mass of dilapidated looking huts. The fort is built in a bend of the river, where the river, running east and west, changes in direction to south and north

flowing northwards: beyond the present city, the river bends again, running from west to east. This circumstance of the river running at this part contrary to its general course, confers on the imagination of the Brahmans a peculiar sanctity on the spot, hence the numerous temples. It will be seen from the above description that the river makes a sort of loop round the city; tradition states that the river once ran along the chord of the loop, *i. e.*, on the other side of the city, and the miraculous manner in which the course of the river was changed is related in the "Settlement Report of Mandla," which has been published, and need not therefore be repeated here; indeed this Settlement Report gives most of the current legends of the place, I shall therefore only describe in detail the fort. The fort is situated immediately within the bend of the river, where it changes its course from west to north; the length of the fort lies north and south. It is a quadrilateral, of which two faces are washed by the river, and the other two defended by a deep and wide moat, through which the river must once have sent a portion of its waters at all seasons, and still does, except when at its lowest; the moat appears to have been seventy-five or eighty feet wide, the counterscarp nearly vertical and of massive masonry which may have exceeded, but could not have been less than, twelve feet in height; these walls are now entirely gone, fragments alone lie prostrate here and there. The fort appears to have had only two gates properly so called, and a postern on the river side. The gate to the west, *i. e.*, the one on the side away from the river, in the long face of the fort, is still intact, and is in the usual style of gateways of the post-Muhammadan period with pillared chambers on the sides for guards; the arch rings of the great archways are built of dressed stone, cut to shape, the rest is of rubble, except the pillars, which are of cut stone, and plain, with shallow carvings to indicate the capitals; the corbelled capitals are in the Jaunpur style, while the pillars appear of the plain early Mughal kind, and altogether their style shews that they were not taken from any older structure built in the flourishing days of Hindu architecture; there are, indeed, a few stones here and there shewing the usual geometric patterns, carved in ancient Chandel temples; but they are very rare, much worn and do not appear equal in execution to their prototypes in the great Chandel structures in Bundelkhand; their occurrence, however, is a clear proof that the fort, as it stands, must have been built on the site of, or repaired with

the materials of, older structures, which themselves, however, cannot date back to the flourishing days of Hindu architecture during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries of our era. This gateway is defended by towers at its flanks, and by outworks; the outworks, from the remains that exist, appear to have consisted simply of a strong curtain running in front of, and hiding the real entrance; the entrance of this outwork being on the south, *i. e.*, between the south flanking tower and the curtain of the outwork itself: small towers defended the corners of the outwork also; a straight wall connects the north flanking tower of the gate with the corner tower of the outwork immediately fronting it. A gateway similar to this, but not defended by outworks, exists also on the long river face of the fort; it does not appear, however, to have possessed the extensive suit of pillared chambers for guards that forms a feature in the last gateway, but it is in a dilapidated condition, and the greater part of it is now in ruins; it was flanked on the outer face by towers, which still frown in rugged dilapidation on the approaches to the gateway.

The fort has altogether fourteen towers; four at the corners, four flanking the two main gateways, two at the centres of the short walls of the quadrilateral, and four, *i. e.*, one each between the corner towers and flanking towers of the gateways in the long faces of the fort. The towers are thirty to thirty-five feet in diameter and hollow, with steps in the interior thickness of the wall leading up to the terreplein, which is defended by a line of battlements running quite round the fort; there are no embrasures for cannon, nor is the terreplein at the curtains wide enough to admit any; guns, therefore, could only have been used at the towers, the hollows of which at the level of the terreplein are roofed over; but even here the broken domes shew that they had not strength enough to bear any large guns; the battlements are little over eighteen inches thick, the curtain at top only five or six feet thick; it is arcaded in the inner face in the usual way; the domed chambers of the towers open inwards; the curtains connecting the towers are four hundred and fifty feet long, except at the gates, where they are shorter.

Altogether, the fort could never have been strong against cannon, and although its position in the loop of a deep unfordable river is one of great natural strength, even this great advantage has, to a great extent, been sacrificed to

convenience of size, for the fort occupies only a corner of the loop.

The history of the fort will be found in the "Settlement Report of Mandla," and in the "Central Provinces Gazetteer" to which I refer.

A rude statue let into a tower, on the east face of the fort, is traditionally said to be at such a level that if the river rise up to it, Hushangabad will be under water. It appears to me, from observations of flood-marks near the place, that the river must frequently not only rise up to, but submerge it; I never heard, however, of Hushangabad having been, in consequence, submerged also.

Within the fort all is desolate; at the north-east corner are the remains of some temples, partly abutting against, and partly built into, the fort walls. Much of them is now under ground. The temples are of no interest architecturally or archæologically. Several similar ones, but smaller, occur at intervals on the east face, which is washed by the river; but they are enveloped in dense scrub jangal, and are none of any interest.

The ruins of a great building, perhaps a palace, exist in the middle of the northern half of the fort. Remains also lie between the two gateways and at the south-east corner of the fort; but the whole place is a mass of uninviting scrub and shapeless rubbish, where nothing of any interest turns up to repay the toil of exploration.

It need now hardly be mentioned that the legends collected by Tod which would assign to Mandla great importance and high antiquity, are totally devoid of foundation.

RAMNAGAR.

About ten miles to the east of Mandla is Râmnagar, once a place of importance, now decayed and deserted; here is the well-known inscription giving the genealogy of the Rajas of Mandla from Indu Ray, who began to reign Samvat four hundred and fifteen, or A. D. three hundred and fifty-eight; the inscription, professing to give the names and lengths of reigns of all Rajas for upwards of one thousand four hundred years, cannot be relied on at all, except for the last few reigns, and is accordingly of little value; the inscription, which is cut on two slabs accurately fitted together, has now been set up, being let into the wall of the Raja's palace, which has been partially repaired to

accommodate local officers visiting the place on duty, or for recreation; it had been thickly coated with whitewash, the slabs were supposed to be white marble, but on clearing them, I found them to be a greyish stone.

The scenery of the Narbada is well known for its natural beauty, and has been often described.

GHANSOR.

Crossing the Narbada below the city of Mandla, at the rapids, or rather immediately below, and above the next deep reach, I went south-westwards towards Seoni: roads there are none, and the tracks of pack animals, which alone serve for traffic, are none of the best. I went out of my route to visit Ghansor, which the Gazetteer describes as containing the ruins of some forty or fifty temples; the place is now a small village, with the ruins of several, but not forty or fifty, temples. The ruins extend over an area of about a mile long by a quarter of a mile broad; within this area, on the banks of the little rivulet, which supplies the village with water, are the remains of numerous temples; all the ruins are mere mounds of cut and broken stone, not a single stone now standing on another. There are the remains of twenty or twenty-five temples, of which, only two appear to have been of a large size, and complete with portico, vestibule, hall, ante-chamber and sanctum; the others were of various sizes, but none of sufficient size to have been complete with its appendages. A few, all near a great line of mounds, which probably marks the site of a small fort, had been built of brick and stone; but the greater number had been built entirely of stone. The small fort was defended on one face, and part of another, by the little rivulet noticed before; beyond the temples and the fort are remains of several tanks.

In the village is a fine statue of one of the Jain Hierarchs, which is devoutly worshipped; there are also a few fragments, among which is Ganeça.

One of the two great temples which have been noticed was probably Jain, because it and the Jain statue are both on the east bank of the rivulet, while the mass of the temples are on the opposite bank, and appear to have been Brahmanical.

It appears, then, that the two religions flourished side by side here, the Brahmanical faith being the predominant one, shown by the great abundance of their remnants close to the

Garhi, while the followers of the Jain religion had to be content with a few shrines, placed far and separated from the orthodox group by the rivulet; the main city must accordingly have been on the side of the river opposite to the present village.

About a mile east of the present village, in a tope of trees, is a finely-carved female statue, and another, a short way further east, in another tope; these appear, the one Brahmanical, and the other Jain or Buddhist; as there are no other Buddhist remains, while of the Jains there are other remains, I infer it to be Jain also.

About three miles to the north-east of the village is a low, long hillock which, from a distance, looks exactly like an old fort: a small village exists at its foot, but no remains of archæological interest were found.

The mass of the dressed stones, and indeed all stones, that could have been used, were carted away from Ghansor a few years ago to build the bridges on the great Jabalpur-Nagpur road in the vicinity of Seoni, and to build the revetements of the great tank at Seoni. I subsequently examined the revetements of the tank, and am satisfied that a portion of the materials used in revetting its embankment came from Ghansor.

It appears that a confusion has in some way been made in the Gazetteer between two villages, each of the name of Ghansor: one has just been noticed, the other is situated close to the ruins of Tewar on the south bank of the Narbada. This place is also said to contain the ruins of several old temples, besides several modern ones, and I suspect the forty or fifty temples of Ghansor of the Gazetteer were obtained by rolling the two villages into one.

There is nothing to show the age of the remains at Ghansor, except two rudely-scratched masons' marks; neither of them, I fear, establishing with certainty their age, although the form of them seems to show that the temples are of an age not anterior to the ninth century. As, however, the style and execution of the sculptures also lead to the same inference, from their similarity to the sculptures at Tewar and at Amar Kantak, I venture, with considerable confidence, to ascribe them to the ninth and tenth centuries of our era.

A curious mistake has been made in the distance of Ghansor from Seoni in the Gazetteer; at page 196 it is stated to be sixty-four miles north-east from Seoni; at page 474, second paragraph, it is placed twenty miles north-east from

Seoni. As a matter of fact, it is about thirty miles north-east of Seoni, whereas the other Ghansor is about seventy miles north of Seoni, but not in the Seoni district. The police outpost spoken of may exist in the Ghansor on the Narbada, but none exists in the Seoni Ghansor; in short, I suspect the mistake is due to a rolling of the two Ghansors into one.

From Seoni I followed the great Jabalpur-Nagpur road: the descent of the road from the high tableland of Seoni to the lowlands of Nagpur is accomplished in a masterly manner, and the road is one of the finest I have seen, and is kept in very good order.

DONGARTAL.

About two miles to the west of the present metalled road, midway between Seoni and Nagpur, is the once flourishing village of Dongartal; the place was reported to contain ancient remains. On examination it was found to possess a locally sacred tank, the ruins of a small fort, probably modern, and a small inscription of two lines on the rock. The inscription is in modern characters, and appears to be the record of a pilgrim; there is nothing of interest in the place.

AMBAGARH.

The fort of Ambâgarh near Rámtek is said to have been principally used as a State prison for criminals of distinction, who were sent there to die of its bad climate and bad water; it is not of any interest otherwise: the gate of the fort faces east.

RA'MTEK.

About seventeen miles to the north-north-east of the modern cantonment of Kamthi is the hill of Rámtek, with its holy shrines and troops of Brahmans: the place is described in great detail in the "Central Provinces Gazetteer;" I will therefore only try to add to the information there contained such new matter as I have been able to gather.

Skirting the southern toe of the horse-shoe range of hills, known as the Rámtek hills, and getting within the horse-shoe near the eastern end of the southern range, one comes

upon a flat plain, where the annual fair, or *méla*, is held; at the west end of this is a line of walls in a state of great dilapidation, the lower portion, however, being still in good order. This wall forms the outermost line of fortifications; it is pierced by a lofty gateway in good order, of the style of the gateways of Puráná Kila of Delhi: a part of the wall also serves as the revetement to hold up the waters of the Ambárá or Ambálá tank inside. Within the gateway is the sacred tank and a small village; the banks of the tank are adorned by numerous small *chhatris* (cenotaphs), all modern; the tank is lined throughout with stone revetements and steps; the water is unwholesome, being full of minute vegetable particles; it is said to be very deep, and fish abound in it. From the west end of the tank, a long flight of steps leads up the hill; both tank and steps are modern, at least the stone-work is; the steps leading up the hill are of stone, rough broken, with a few bricks let in here and there; most of the bricks are inscribed, and the inscriptions are all modern, the earliest dating to the latter half of the eighteenth century; numerous pilgrim records are scratched also on the stone steps; the steps lead past the ruinous outer fortifications, through a gateway, or rather a ruined gateway. This outer line of walls may be regarded as the second line of walls, the first being reckoned that at the Ambárá tank.

This wall is not very old, as, though built in a very primitive way, by piling large dry stones on each other, yet some of the stones so piled are clearly from the ruins of older structures. Continuing to ascend, there is a gate, close to which is a *bauli*; beyond this are several buildings, including a Muhammadan masjid; passing then through another small gate, are seen several buildings, all modern, except, perhaps, a small temple of the Varâha Incarnation. This last is a very small open hall supported on four massive square pillars at the four corners, enshrining a large statue of Varâha. The outer dimensions of the building are eight and a half feet square by six and a half feet high to the architraves; the statue is of the usual variety, plain and well smeared with vermilion; inscriptions, if any exist, are therefore hopelessly buried beneath the thick coat of oil and vermilion. I infer this temple to be old, and unaltered, because the four pillars supporting the roof are all alike, and the intersecting squares of the roof appear undisturbed; the statue also is far too heavy to have conveniently been brought from elsewhere; the style of sculpture is difficult

to judge of from the thick layers of vermilion, grease, and dirt of ages.

The other temples here are all modern, without exception, though some of the statues may be ancient. They are built without the remotest idea of regularity, or arrangement, either of plan, form, or material; one of the statues is inscribed in characters that look not very old; the inscription is simply one line "Śri Vishnu Sahasra;" it is a four-armed statue of Vishnu, with a tortoise on the pedastal; it is formed of grey granite, but is now of a polished black with oil and dirt.

Beyond this mass of irregular temples is a gateway, near which lie several pieces of cannon; beyond the gate are long ranges of dilapidated structures, the residence of the *pujáris*, perhaps, and the quarters of the pilgrims that visit the shrine.

Passing through this confused mass of modern ruinous cells, and through the next gateway, which forms, in fact, the gateway at the other end of this court of pilgrims, and going a short way beyond, there is a strong gateway in good order. This is the gateway to the citadel: it is modern; the wooden door-frame and doors which conclusively establish its modern age have been so often and so clumsily painted, that I actually measured the thickness of the coat of paint on them to be upwards of three-quarters of an inch, and in places even thicker; the gate is flanked by bold towers; within the gate are several shrines and dilapidated temples, residences of *pujáris*, in a court paved throughout. The principal shrine in this court is that of Dasaratha, wherein is enshrined a white marble statue of Dasaratha, which is kept jealously screened from profane eyes. I strongly suspect that the statue, like many other similar small white marble statues, is simply one of the founder of the temple, but I was not allowed to see it, or even to approach the temple.

Beyond this is the last gateway, inside which it appears the writer of the article in the "Central Provinces Gazetteer" was admitted, as he describes the temple of Ganapati and Hanumân and the great temple of Râmchandra; but I was not allowed to approach it even, much less to go inside; this is a great pity, and I can see no reason why I was not allowed to go into the courtyard of the temple: the Brahmans were even inclined to turn me out of the second courtyard, and entirely out of the citadel, and brought forward a little board, whereon was pasted a paper signed by the Commissioner requesting visitors not to insist on entering the temples: a

very reasonable request, but sadly, and I fear habitually, misused by those to whom this all-potent board is entrusted. I cannot therefore describe the great main temple, but from a bird's eye view of a part of it which I obtained from one of the towers, I believe it to be a complete temple in the style of the superb Khajuráhá ones; the loss of this temple is particularly to be regretted, as it is the only temple of the kind between the Narbada and Chanda, in the eastern half of the Central Provinces, with the single exception of the ruined temple at Pali, at the extreme north-east end of the province, and a small one of a different, though cognate, style at Janjgir; the objects of worship within the last enclosure are said to be Rama, Lakshmana, Kausalya, Lachhmi Narayan, Mahadeo, Ekat Swami (who is this?), Balaji, Lakshmi, Ramjharokh (who is this?), the eight-armed Devi, Mahavira or Hanuman, Ganeça, and Kabir Asna (who is this?). I succeeded in obtaining a copy of an inscription inside the great temple through my Hindu servant; the inscription is much defaced, the stone being in several pieces; it is said to be let into the interior face of the wall of the Mahâmandapa. I infer from this that the temple had been deserted, had suffered decay, and had been repaired, when the broken inscription was put in; it is thickly covered with whitewash.

Ramchandra is several times mentioned in the inscription, and there is a name which I read as Rama Deva; there is also mention of a hill named Ramachandra Giri, of which I infer the modern Rámtek to be a corruption. I could not find the names of the Kalachuri Kings, and if none of their names exist, it is probable the temple was built after their dynasty had ceased to reign; the temple, so much of it as I could see, appears to date to the latter end of the Kalachuri reigns at earliest, and perhaps even later.

Near the bungalow built by Sir R. Temple on the hill close to the temple are the ruins of another Hindu temple; a few pillars of the Mandapa exist, and fragments of statues; the people have a curious legend which makes the largest sculptured group to represent a brother and sister, who were much devoted to each other, and for some reason or other have been turned to stone. I could not get any more of the legend beyond these outlines. The sculpture is really a mutilated one of the Vâman Avatâr which the pujâris at the place are strangely unable to recognize; the temple therefore was Vaishnavic, and appears to have been of a large size and complete in its parts.

Two small shrines of Narasinha Avatar have been noticed in the Gazetteer; they are quite modern and of no interest. Besides this group of temples on the west end of the range, there are a few at the north-east end. This group is known as the Nágárjun group; of these, the most conspicuous is a small temple of uncemented stone consisting only of a cell or sanctum, in which a lingam is the object of veneration; several statues, said to be of Gaurá Sankara and Saraswati, are set up outside, evidently from ruins of other temples; the statues have serpents over the head and shoulders, and are clearly Saivic: below, on the side of the hill, a short way from the top, is a small cleft in the rock, formed into a cell by building walls; here are two statues said to be of Naga and Arjuna, whence the name Nága Arjuna (= Nagarjun); the whole place is Brahmanical Saivic. Near the foot of the hill, on the outside of the horse-shoe, at the north-west corner, are a number of temples, all modern; one appears older than the others, and is black with age, but it is also modern, though the first built of the group. Notwithstanding that the mahants claim for it an age of five hundred years, it belongs probably to the same period as the temples at Wyragarh, to be noticed further on. It is fifteen feet square, and has had a portico lately added to it; the statue inside is a colossal naked one with the antelope symbol, shewing it to be intended for Santa Natha; the style of the temple is like that of Kalyâneswari near Barâkar in Bengal; repeated coats of whitewash cover the temple in and out, but the outside is now black with exposure and age.

About half a mile to the east of this group, at the north foot of the northern range of hills, is a single curious temple and the remnants of one or two others; this curious temple consists of a number of cells, five in number, *i. e.*, three principal and two subordinate ones, occupying the west end of a court; the three principal shrines are, one in the centre, and two at the two extreme flanks; these have the usual tower roof. The whole has a long verandah supported on pillars in front; this open verandah extends round the other three sides of the courtyard also; the open space thus inclosed is occupied by a square stone tank; the tank is about forty-five feet square and has ten pillars on each side, the verandah running round the tank immediately at its edge. The shrines all face east necessarily; in front, in the centre of the east end of the courtyard, was a portico, or entrance gateway, now gone, flanked by two

smaller chambers, probably with tower roofs corresponding with the tower roofs of the side shrines. The tank is said to be about nine feet deep. The whole is built carefully of cut stone, set without mortar, but perfectly plain; the pillars are plain square shafts with capitals and bases simply ornamented with easy mouldings; there is a general want of relief in the building, strongly suggestive of Muhammadan influence: there are no sculptures over the entrance to indicate the purpose of the temples, but from a slab representing the eight Saktis all without their heads—the strip containing the heads being broken off longitudinally—I conclude the temple to have been Brahmanical; the influence of Muhammadan style in the want of relief has been noticed, and on this ground I would ascribe the temple to a period when, after Akbar's conquest of the south, Muhammadan style began to exert its baneful influence in banishing relief from sculpture, and play of light and shade from the plans of buildings. I consider it, therefore, of about the same period as the Jain temple already spoken of. In style and in plan it, to some extent, resembles the temple at Armori, to be noticed below.

Tradition ascribes it to a celebrated physician, Hemâdh Pant, to whom many antiquities in the south are ascribed, but this vague legend is entitled to the same credit that is attached to stories of Viswakarman having been the architect of all old temples in Northern India. This temple is greatly inferior in age to the ruined temple of the Vaman Incarnation on the top of the hill, and probably to that of Ramachandra which I was not allowed to see.

The ancient name of Rámtek is said to have been Sinduragiri and Tapogiri successively; I have already stated my impression of its having been Râmachandragiri. This place derives its sanctity from having been the site where the Sudra was performing *tapasya* during the reign of Rama, which was alleged to have caused the untimely death of a Brahman's son, and which ended in Rama coming and cutting off the head of the poor ascetic; the story is alluded to in the "*Uttara Râma Charita*," in the "*Mahavira Charitia*" and in the "*Ramayana*."

The Sudra, it is said, having had his head cut off by Râma, was highly pleased and praised Râma; for, having been liberated by Râma himself, on whom he was meditating at the time, he was insured eternal happiness. Râma, pleased, desired him to ask a boon, and the spirit of the decapitate

Sudra begged that Rama should here always be present and visible to his faithful worshippers! Hence the sanctity of the place, as the believing pilgrim is assured of really seeing the great deity here; how many of the believing pilgrims succeed in deluding themselves I will not venture to conjecture. The spot where the ascetic performed the *tapasya* is marked now by a small square shrine, evidently a work of no antiquity, quite outside the great group of temples, but only about half a mile off, on a little plateau on one of the lower spurs of the south leg of the horse-shoe.

The Ambárá tank is fabled to have been dug by a Raja Amara Sinha of Ujain, who was a leper, had come hunting here, had become thirsty, and, in want of better water, had been forced to drink out of a muddy pool at the site of the present tank; had been immediately cured of his leprosy, and of course, in gratitude, had enlarged and beautified the pool into the present tank.

NAGPUR.

From Ramték to Nâgpur the distance is about twenty-eight miles. The Kanhán River is crossed by the finest stone bridge in the Central Provinces; it must have cost a large sum of money.

The antiquities of Nágpur will be noticed by General Cunningham, in whose company I visited the place. There are numerous inscriptions and statues in the Museum, some of which are said to have been brought from the eastern half of the Central Provinces. As General Cunningham has not visited the eastern half of the province, which was assigned to me, I ought to note such particulars about these inscriptions and statues as appear called for.

Five inscriptions, numerous Jain statues, and numerous Sati sculptures, are said to have been brought from the eastern half of the Central Provinces. Among the inscriptions, one, a tall slab, inscribed on both faces and on one edge, is said to have come from Sironcha, in the Upper Godâvari district. This is very likely; the characters are the round shell-like Tamil in a transitional state. The slab is clearly a Sati pillar. Of the remaining four inscriptions, one in fragments and too worn to yield any information, is said to have been brought from Lánji; it may be so.

A large slab standing outside is said to have been brought from Amar Kantak. I beg to record my firm conviction that this great inscription never came from Amar Kantak. My reasons are—first, the size and weight of the stone are so great (it must weigh many maunds) that it would have been very difficult to have brought this huge stone down from the top of the hill, to which the only means of access are steep cattle tracks, passable only by foot passengers and small cattle. To have brought the stone from there to Nágpur, it must have been taken down one of three roads, *viz.*, first, the one from Jabalpur *viá* Mandla and Ramgarh; second, the one descending the hill at Lamni and thence going either *viá* Ratanpur and Raipur to Nágpur, or *viá* Borla Mandla and Jabalpur; or, third, the one descending the hill on the north-east towards Pandaria, and thence *viá* Ratanpur and Raipur to Nágpur. The two latter are well nigh impracticable for heavy weights like the stone in question. The only possible road is the first; but even by that route the distance to Jabalpur alone is close upon two hundred miles, over a very difficult country, impassable to any laden wheeled conveyance.

But, apart from this, it appears from the list of inscriptions at Amar Kantak, given in "Asiatic Researches," Vol. XV, that no such inscription existed there when the list was made out, which, remembering that Nàgpur is a station established a very few years ago, must have been written long before the museum existed, and even long before the Central Provinces began to be administered by British officers. The list describes so minutely the localities and the purport of the various inscriptions that exist there, that it was evidently written after careful personal examination by the writer. The list notices.—

One inscription under a *chhatri*, on the pedastel of a statue of Rewa Naik, dated Samvat nine hundred and twenty-two.

One on another statue, near the statue of Rewa Naik.

One on first step of Kund Pila Bapu.

One on a loose stone on the walls of Narbada Kund.

The first three I found on my visit to the place in the positions indicated; the last is not now on the walls of the Kund, but is stowed away in a small temple close to it: it is a fragment, and loose. So that the four inscriptions noticed in the "Asiatic Researches" are fully accounted for; and it is most improbable that the finest, largest, and most

important inscription in the place should have been totally unnoticed by the careful man who noted down the others.

Apart from this, however, the resident Brahmans and Pujâris of Amar Kantak unanimously deny that any inscription slab has ever, within their memory of course, been removed by any one from the place.

The conclusion is inevitable, that most probably some mistake has been made in the Museum; and this will be confirmed when, as I shall shew subsequently, several such mistakes have been made.

One red stone inscription is said to have been brought from Raipur; this also is from some other place most probably. The names of the Kâlachuri kings down to Karnna Deva are quite clear, and their title of Kâlachuri also appears in the inscription, besides which, there is mention of Kâkataya; so that the record is clearly one of Karnna Deva himself, who fought with the Kâkataya kings of Andhrá successfully. But the dynasty of the Kalachuris reigning at Jabalpur, there is strong reason for considering to have been distinct from, though allied to, the Haihaibansi dynasty of Ratanpur

On this ground, then, I consider it unlikely that the inscription in question came from Raipur; it is particularly to be regretted that there are no means of ascertaining beyond a doubt whence the inscription really came. If it could be proved to have come from Raipur, very important light would be thrown on the ancient history of Chhattisgarh, which is now at the best very obscure. An inscription in bluish-black stone said to have come from Bhandak must, however, have gone from Raipur, as it clearly mentions Rayapura and Raja Raya Deva.

Besides the inscriptions, numerous Sati pillars and slabs are said to have been taken from the eastern half of the Central Provinces. Of these, the most curious are some highly ornamental Sati pillars from the Upper Godâvari. As pillars similar to them are yet to be seen in the eastern half of the province, those in the Museum did very probably, as asserted, go there from the Upper Godâvari district. Besides the pillars, numerous sculptured Sati slabs are said to have also been received from the eastern districts. Sati slabs similar to them are common in the eastern provinces, and the probability is that the statement is correct.

A large collection of Jain statues of all sizes, and in every variety of material, inscribed and uninscribed, is asserted to have been carried to the Museum from Amar Kantak.

Some of the statues are highly polished in a greenish variegated stone (serpentine?) and many are colossal. I must record my conviction that none of these ever were at Amar Kantak, for the simple reason that there are no Jain remains there at all; nor could I, by the most diligent enquiry, find out any spot in the vicinity where Jain remains could be found: and, as I personally examined every place I heard of in and about Amar Kantak both on the Raipur side and on the Rewah side, and as my persistent inquiries from district officers and from the people failed to show that any remains existed on the one route from Mandla *viâ* Ramgarh to Amar Kantak which I did not travel over personally, I am compelled to consider that the statement ascribing the Jain statues to Amar Kantak must be due to a mistake. They most probably came from some place near Raipur. Sculpture in greenish stone highly polished, existing at Pali, at Seonnarâin, at Nârâyanpur, and Arang: most probably they went from Arang. This place once certainly contained numerous Jain temples, and still possesses a fine one; and it was a great Jain place, while the others contain no Jain remains.

I content myself with briefly noticing the remains that are said to have gone from the eastern half of the Central Provinces which was assigned me to explore. A detailed account of them, and of the inscriptions, their age, and purport, I leave for General Cunningham, who will do them that justice which I fear is beyond my powers.

UMRER

From Nàgpur to Umrer is a tolerable cattle-track, with few villages and great scarcity of good water, even as early as December. It possesses a fort, dating to the Maharatha times. The Gazetteer makes this place less than two hundred years old, and certainly the age of the fort cannot be greater, but the old temple inside must be older, or at least built from the remains of older temples. It consists of a cell, about eight feet square, with four pilasters at the corners, surmounted by the usual dravidian roof. The sanctum is approached through a mandapa, supported on pillars and pilasters. The pillars are plain and massive, but far from being disproportioned and ugly. There are four rows, four in each row; the row next the sanctum are pilasters abutting against the wall; the two centre

rows consist of two entire pillars in the centre of each row, the end pillars being only dwarf pillars standing on the side walls of the Mahamandapa, which are only about two feet high. The outermost road consists entirely of dwarf pillars similarly disposed. The front and sides of the hall, therefore, are open from the architrave to within about two feet of the floor; the entrance is to the north. Attempts have been made once to close the openings between the architrave and the wall on which the outer dwarf pillars all round rest. The temple is now all but deserted; it was dedicated to Siva, and the statue of Ganeça on the architrave appropriately guards the entrance to the sanctum. Internally no mortar has been used in the construction, but externally repairs have been executed with mortar. The walls of the sanctum are of great thickness, leading me to infer that, seeing the original wall giving way, additional strength was given it by building up walls outside to thicken them. The sanctum inside is only eight feet wide, but the external width is forty-two feet, so that the side walls are each seventeen feet thick; the back wall, however, is only five feet thick: this, therefore, has not been added to. The walls of the mandapa are only three and a half feet thick, the entrance of the mandapa is two feet eight inches wide, and of the sanctum the same. The pillars are seven feet seven inches high, of which the corbelled capital is thirteen inches, the capital proper of the pillar, including the neck below the corbel, eleven inches, and the base fifteen inches; the pillars are seventeen inches square for the lower half, the upper half being formed into octagons by cutting off the corners; the bases are two feet square; the architraves are fifteen inches deep by twenty-one inches wide, the clear minimum distance between the bearings being seven feet three inches; the material throughout is granite dressed and cut to shape, but not smoothed finely.

The temple appears to me older than the fort.

The fort consists of a massive masonry wall built mostly of rubble stone set in mortar, but with an admixture of bricks; it is about two feet wide at top, and twelve feet at base, sloping considerably; the height is about thirty-five feet to top of battlements from the ditch, which, however, is now evidently much shallower than it was. The ditch is, or was, very wide, and is now a small marsh. The fort is defended on three sides by its masonry walls and ditch; on

the fourth side it rests on a large lake, the waters of which are held up by the fort itself forming the embankment across a valley. The side of the tank on the fort side is faced with stone—mostly cut stone—disposed evenly in steps, but now very much out of order. The ground within the fort is nearly level, and appears to have been mostly artificially raised. The water of the tank is full of minute vegetable particles. It is a very gay place, as the inhabitants send females, apparently one from each family, to wash their dirty clothes in the tank; and the sides are crowded by amateur washerwomen and their admirers from morning to night.

Originally it appears that this lake was embanked and temples built on the embankment, as is often done; that, then, owing, perhaps, to bad administration, the place was deserted, and the temple and lake fell into disrepair through neglect. Subsequently the strong defensive position, due to the large lake, came to be appreciated, and the fort was built to resist the eternal raids of the various bands of plunderers who roamed about during the Maharatha rule; and the security afforded by the fort led to the gradual re-peopling and prosperity of the place, which has steadily increased under British rule. The fort, therefore, as stated in the Gazetteer, may only date to one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five A. D., but the temple and embankment could only have been built before the systematic pillage of the Maharatha soldiery reduced the district to desolation. I would ascribe it to the same age as the temple of Hemadh Pant at Râmtek. In the plain to the west of Umrer stands a small dargâh. Although of no interest in itself, and deserted, and in ruins now, yet it may help to fix approximately the date of the temple and lake.

Umrer was conferred as a grant on one Munaji Pandit from Chimur by Bakht Buland; it is clear, then, that Bakht Buland ruled these parts from Deoghar as capital.

To him, or to his period, then, I would ascribe the deserted dargâh as its earliest possible date; it may, however, be much later.

A comparison of the dargâh and of the temple shews that the temple existed long before the Dargâh; at the same time the want of light and shade in the plan shews that it was built when Muhammadan style had perverted the bold Hindu style of architecture.

The "*Ain-i-Akbari*" mentions Bubjeo as an independent prince. From the annale of Chânda (Gazetteer, Article

"Chanda)," it appears that Bubjeo's father Kondia, or Kárn Sah, was independent, and was famed for building numerous temples in his territory.

As, therefore, the temple was certainly built before Bakht Buland's reign in Deogarh, and equally certainly after Muhammadan style had exercised an influence on Hindu art, the temple can only be ascribed to the period between the extinction of the Malwa Muhammadan Dynasty and the rise of Bakht Buland, followed by Aurangzeb's conquests.

Within this period local annals mention but one Raja as a great temple-builder.

This temple, therefore, must, in the absence of other data, be ascribed to him, *viz.*, to Raja Kárn Sah in the sixteenth century.

BHIWÁPUR.

Bhiwâpur is a large village, sixteen miles south-east from Umrer. Here are numerous Sati monuments in the shape of pillars, both square and rough, slabs, and rude monoliths. One slab—a large one—measuring ten feet high and five feet wide, is set up on a *chabutra* in the market-place, and, its original purpose having been forgotten, it is now worshipped with copious libations of sour milk, oil, and vermillion. The top of the slab is formed into four small conical peaks, doubtless meant to represent the four fingers of the hand held up. Close to it stands a square *dipdan*, or pillar, with numerous little niches cut on its faces for lights.

The city is separated from the market-place by a large embanked tank. On the crest of its embankment are several Sati stones; the shelving banks on the city sides have numerous little Sati *chabutras* and temples.

At the north-east end of the city the dilapidated ruins of a fort exist. One of the arched gateways still stands intact; it is a true arch of cut stones in the voussoirs, the rest being rubble. A fragment of another archway, has, let in into its spandril, a fragment of sculpture of the Maharatha period, showing that the fort is later even than the early Maharatha ascendancy, when such small forts became imperatively necessary to protect the cultivators of adjacent lands and the inhabitants of villages from the plundering soldiery. Such small forts are very numerous in the district, and are devoid of architectural and antiquarian interest.

PAUNI.

Pauni is a deserted-looking, straggling village, on the west bank of the Wainganga, about thirty-two miles south of Bhandárá: the present village is situated mostly within the fort, which consists of ramparts and ditch on three sides, the fourth being the river itself: the ramparts consist of a huge high mound of earth, rising up with very steep slope, surmounted by a stone-battlemented wall; the great height of the ramparts gives the place an imposing appearance: the stone wall does not now run along all three sides of the fort, but only on one and portions of others. This may be due to disrepair, though there is some reason to believe that the fort walls, having fallen to decay, were repaired along one side only, as the wall now standing terminates rather abruptly: the difference between the repaired wall and the rest of the ramparts being simply that between a sound strong wall and the débris of an old one.

The walls are defended by a ditch which is three hundred feet wide, and forms a respectable marshy tank along the base of the ramparts, crossed at the gates by wide strips left undug; the ditch has been greatly filled up.

I noticed three gates in the fort; the one in best order is the north gate. Close to, and outside, the gate is a Muhammadan dargàh of a local saint, a large rambling building containing a great white-washed tomb, apparently of either earth or brick (not stone), besides several minor ones, the place is of no interest.

Brick and stone are both used in the gates and walls.

There is an idgah also in the fort in a conspicuous position, but it is devoid of interest.

Within the fort is a citadel, or older fort as it is called; this is small, and is properly only a citadel. Its walls consist of loose, large, hammer-dressed stone, set dry on each other with thin courses of small stone chips between. The wall thus shows on the face wide courses of massive blocks, separated from each other by narrow courses of stone chips, the whole set without mortar; probably mud was used as a cementing material, as it is still found under the beds, though not on the face between the joints, whence, of course, if it ever existed, it has long ago been washed out. This inner fort is called the Gond or Gauli fort, and is ascribed to the Gonds: the construction of the walls of this citadel gives

us an idea of what the external fort was like before the Muhammadans repaired and strengthened it. It is clear that the outer fort at one time had its walls built in a similar manner.

There is nothing to show that the fort dates to the pre-Muhammadan period; the mere fact of stone piled on each other without mortar is no evidence of age. In the absence of inscriptions, the style of a building is justly considered a criterion of the age of the structure; but in these parts, where rude stone monuments, kistvaens and the like are being set up to the present day in a style of primitive rudeness, it is idle to conjecture the age of a structure simply from the rudeness of its construction: a better criterion would have been sculptures, but none exist here that can be ascribed to a period anterior to the Maharathas. The numerous Hindu temples, "some of great antiquity," mentioned in the Gazetteer, are all post-Maharatha, and probably of the Bhonsla period, and are all mean, ugly, and utterly unworthy of notice.

The oldest remains here are clearly the walls of the citadel, and in my opinion these date to about Akbar's time, when the Chanda princes were powerful.

Two ghats, in good order, lead down from the city to the river; these are ascribed to the Bhonslas: the river-face is undefended, except by the river itself.

DEOTEK.

To the south-west of Pauni, about twenty-two miles, is a small village, named Deotek; it is mis-spelt on the map (Indian Atlas Sheet) as Thanetuck. Here is a small temple, and the remains of a second; also an inscription. The temple is quite plain, built of laterite: the sanctum has the usual four-corner pillars. The pillars are of a quartzy sandstone; the line of capitals of pillars is continued and carried out by an external moulding The mouldings were, it appears, cut, or rather the surface of the walls was cut out, leaving the mouldings in relief, after the temple was built, for, the stones composing the wall being of varying thickness, in the same course, the moulding falls on different parts of the various blocks, and could not have been cut before the blocks were set in their places, unless every single block had been numbered, and the particular position it was to occupy in the wall determined beforehand. This, apart from its special inconvenience, was certainly not done, as none of the blocks

are numbered or marked in any way. The temple is small, consisting simply of a cell and its entrance; it may have had a small portico or a mandapa attached, as the ground in front is covered with cut blocks; but it could not have been large, and indeed, the temple is of the kind usually built without mandapas. The stone (laterite) it is built of, has been quarried on the spot, and the place it was dug out of is now a small tank with irregular sides containing a little muddy water; the stone is found near the surface. The temple faces east.

Close to and alongside it must have stood another similar temple, of which ruins now exist. This temple (and also the last) was Saivic, as the argha which contained the lingam still exists *in situ;* this argha contains an old inscription.

The inscribed slab, or *argha*, is an oblong trapezoid of rough-grained, quartzy sandstone, worn smooth in places by the feet of villagers and wayfarers, it being situated in the thick shade of a magnificent tamarind tree on the side of the village road, and thus offering a capital resting-place and seat; the stone is nine feet long, three and a half feet broad at one end, and two feet ten inches at the other, with straight sides: it bears two distinct inscriptions.

The first inscription consists of four lines, running longitudinally, and occupying the middle half of the stone. The characters are of the kind known as those of the Asoka edicts: portions of it have been much worn and some quite obliterated, notwithstanding the great hardness of the stone. The second inscription is in five lines running *across* the stone and occupying the narrow end of it; this is in the early Gupta characters, and is also much worn and cut through by the groove or channel subsequently roughly and rudely cut on the surface to let out the libations poured on the lingam.

The lingam appears to have been set up just at the topmost line of the second inscription, and, as stated, the channel for letting off the libations is carried mercilessly through the inscription to the narrow end.

It is evident that the first inscription is very old, dating to before the Christian era; the second inscription is later, but was cut evidently with some regard for the prior inscription, as it does not interfere with or injure it. Long ages afterwards, evidently when no one could read the inscriptions, this great slab, large enough to occupy the entire breadth of the sanctum of a temple, was considered very convenient to form

into an argha, and in the process the inscriptions were remorselessly sacrificed.

Where the stone originally came from, or what purpose it originally served, I am unable to indicate; its final fate was to serve as an argha: it must have been brought from some distance, as stone like it is not found in the vicinity.

The temples I ascribe to the same period as the temple at Umrer.

PANORI.

Close to Deotek, only two miles off south-east, is the village Panori. Here are the ruins of a small temple of laterite, similar to the one at Deotek; here, also, are several slabs precisely similar to the inscribed slab at Deotek, similarly grooved with a channel, but broken across and not inscribed. Several statues of Vishnu, Lakshmi and Nandi, and several lingams, lie scattered about; among the fragments is the head of a cobra. There are no traditions or inscriptions; the ruins lie on a small mound about fifteen feet in height and about thirty feet in diameter.

It is possible that the slab at Deotek was carried from this place to its present site; the fragments are worshipped, and my going on the mound to examine them was disapproved of by the villagers.

The name Panori Mendha is a compound word, composed of the names of two contiguous portions of the village Panori and Mendha. Mendha appears to be a very common name, and always found attached to another; it means a "tank or embanked piece of water," and all villages with this termination invariably possess a tolerably large embanked tank. This village also has such a one about half a mile from the mound.

In the fields close to the mound at Panori Mendha are numerous brickbats.

ÁRMORI.

Ármori is a village of small importance: it contains one temple, perched on a high mound; the temple is curious, consisting of three cells, each surmounted by a tower roof; all the cells open into a common *mandapa*, or hall: the temple faces east, and is Saivic; figures of Ganeça occupy the centres of the architraves of the entrances; the mandapa is open on three sides, like the mandapa, of the temple at Umrer; the pillars and half pillars are massive and plain; the architraves

spanning the pillars are one foot ten inches wide and one foot seven inches deep; the roofs of the sanctums are formed in the usual way of intersecting squares. The roof of the mandapa is similarly formed of intersecting squares, and over each compartment rises a small pyramidal roof cut up exteriorly into gradually diminishing steps. The external plan is singularly plain and devoid of bold projections to give variety of light and shade; and even the mouldings and offsets, though executed in stone and, therefore, admitting of great boldness of design, are singularly shallow and plain. The material is stone throughout, except in the roof of the mandapa, where bricks also occur, but are apparently stray ones; the mandapa originally open on all sides to within a short distance of the floor, as at Umrer, has since been closed all round by patch-work walls between the dwarf pillars, leaving the entrance and front openings only open; the material is laterite, except the pillars, architraves, &c., which are of granite. The whole appears to have once had a coat of plaster and whitewash; and this must have added much to the beauty of the temple, as the stone used is coarse and coarsely cut. The high mound on which the temple stands is known as the Killah, and a veritable fort it is now, enclosed by high earth walls and forming the domicile of one of the village heads. Several large sculptures lie about, notably one of Ganeça.

Tradition ascribes this temple to Raja Hara Chandra Gond; it is said to have been built in one night, but the morning light appearing before statues could be placed in their positions in the temple, it was abandoned as a place of worship. From fragments lying about, it appears that more than one temple existed here before, but I could get no information regarding any others, nor of the fragments.

A large embanked tank to the north-west of the temple adds much to its beauty; on its banks at the further end are a few cut-stone fragments.

When Raja Hara Chandra reigned, or where he reigned, I cannot ascertain, nor could the people tell me; but, for reasons already given in my notice of the Umrer temple, I should ascribe this temple to about the same period.

THÁNEGAON.

Four miles south of Ármori, at Thánegaon, is a small temple and a large tank, the temple not older than the one at Armori but of about the same age.

WAIRÁGARH.

Wairágarh is a place of some importance: it is now in a state of decay, and looks, what it is, a deserted city. The present village is a long straggling strip, running along the banks of the Sáth River for about a mile; it is literally buried in mango groves, and groves of tamarind; the place is very damp, and being further surrounded by low marshy lands, old tanks and the ditch of the fort, and being itself situated on a low spot on the banks of the sluggish Sáth River, it is extremely unhealthy.

The remains here are very numerous, but devoid of interest. The old fort still makes a great show with its towers (changed now into bastions with embrasures for cannon, but which could not for a moment itself resist cannon), its triple gateway and deep but extremely filthy ditch; but inside all is desolate, the ruins of a temple abutting against the walls, and partly under ground with its dark chambers and mutilated statues, and bats innumerable, has nothing of interest for the antiquary. They all date only to the Maharatha period, as does the fort itself in all probability: the remains of a bungalow and of a tomb, in the shade of some large tamarind trees, are of interest to Englishmen, as being the ruins of the residence of the British Commandant and the grave of his daughter,—a victim, no doubt, to the pestilential climate.

The most ancient temple here, and the one held in most respect, is the temple of Mahákáli: it is an unpretending structure, standing quite away from the city on the banks of the Sáth River; opposite this temple the river has formed for itself a deep pool, at the bottom of which a temple is fabled to exist.

The temple of Mahákáli is the work of two periods: the original temple consisted simply of the cell with its tower roof and an entrance; subsequently the mandapa has been added. The junction is so clumsily executed, that the hand can readily be inserted in some places between the old and new work: plaster was added, but afterwards, as the face of the older work where secured from subsequent alteration by being hidden behind the later additions, is devoid of plaster.

The original temple, as stated, consisted of a tower roof surmounting the cell; the cell has a roof of its own, of intersecting squares, within the tower roof, which forms only a sort of external false roof. This is the usual construc-

tion; the tower is hollow up to within a short way of the top. This hollow space within the tower having for its floor the top of the real roof of the cell of intersecting squares, and the tower itself for its roof, is usually formed into a small chamber by having an entrance in front; in large towers there are sometimes two such chambers, one over the other.

In front of the cell proper is the portico, which is nothing more than an elongation of the side walls of the temple to a short distance, the space being roofed by overlapping courses, or slabs, as the case may be; this roof is carried up externally a short way in the shape of a triangle or gable jutting out beyond the face of the tower, in short, somewhat like the window in a garret, the external face being kept quite plumb. *A novelty is introduced in this temple in the shape of a statue crowning the apex of the triangle thus formed; the statue no longer exists*, but its pedestal exists to show that a statue once stood there. The upper portion of the tower appears to be a restoration, the lower portion rises up with the usual graceful curve; but, beyond a certain point, the curved outline is suddenly abandoned, for a stiff, straight outline, showing that this upper portion is a restoration: the tower is taller in proportion to its size than usual; and this must be so, for the curve being abandoned for the straight outline, the intersection of the straight faces would necessarily take place higher than the point of intersection of the curves.

The mandapa is, as usual, open on three sides to within about a short way to the floor; but the openings here have not, as usual elsewhere, been subsequently closed by patchwork walls built between the dwarf pillars. These dwarf pillars are quite plain, and of granite; the four entire central pillars of the mandapa are carved, but the carving is unusually shallow, quite unlike the carving of the pre-Muhammadan period, but strongly resembling the shallow carving of the present day; the roof of the mandapa is in nine compartments, each of intersecting squares internally, and each rising up externally to a small low pyramid with indented sides in the usual style; the portico is roofed similarly.

The sanctum is exteriorly tower-roofed as stated before; internally the roof consists of two overlapping squares, surmounted by two similarly overlapping squares, intersecting the lower squares; the usual method being to dispose the

squares not alternately overlapping and intersecting, but all intersecting.

The temple faces east; the entrance of the sanctum has a circle with a projecting knob at centre for its symbol; the statue inside is a female.

Close to the temple was a fine large tank, now a shallow marsh.

I cannot ascribe this temple, or even its earlier portions, to a date prior to the Muhammadans. I consider it to have been built by some one of the Gond Rajas, who rose to power after the collapse of the Báhmani dynasty and before Akbar and his successors subjugated this portion of India. Among the Rajas* of the period indicated, I would consider Raja Karnsáh, from his well-known zeal in temple building, as the most likely founder of this temple. The later additions are clearly Maharatha.

This is the most important, and avowedly the oldest, temple in the place; what the others are, may then be readily guessed. I have, however, inserted in my plate the mouldings of a nameless dilapidated Saivic temple of laterite, which, from its simplicity and comparative elegance, I thought deserving of notice. There are numerous temples, all more or less ruined and neglected: I will only notice the one on Bhandár Tekri. This is a small temple with overlapping octagonal roof; the walls are ornamented with several large statues, a fine large argha, with a coarse laterite lingam, occupy the place of honor inside; the mound on which this temple stands is remarkable, as overlooking what is said to have been the richest diamond-yielding mine in the place, but evidently the search for diamonds was not vigorously prosecuted, as the workings here are very shallow and of very small extent.

Diamond mines also existed at the foot of the hill, on which stands an old Muhammadan idgah; here, also, the workings are mere shallow pits and covering a very small space of ground.

The idgah itself is very common-place; there are a few Muhammadan tombs near it, and in it; it is of rubble and mortar, and evidently of very recent date.

The sites of the city and of the fort have been very injudiciously selected. Standing close to the confluence of the Sáth River with the Khobragarhi, it might naturally have been expected that the fort would have been placed so as to command and be defended by both, while the city might

conveniently, and with great advantage, have been placed on the banks of the well-supplied perennial Khobragarhi; instead of this, the fort has been placed not only not in a commanding position, defended by both rivers, but actually away from both and within command of the hillocks on its flanks; and the city is placed on the banks of the sluggish Sath River, which ceases to be a running stream in the dry season, and is besides located in the lowest and most unhealthy, though certainly most fertile, spot that could have been pitched upon within many miles.

TIPÁGARH.

The great old fort of Tipágarh, which the romantic story of its queen has invested with much interest, is situated on the hills at the source of the Tipágarhi River; the fort stands in the heart of the Tipágarh hills, and is very difficult of access; the road, or rather foot-path, to it passing through dense jangal and bambu forest, crossing the Tipágarhi River back and forwards about seven times, and generally running paralled to it at no great distance, I went to Tipágarh from Huraldand, which is itself a small village of a few huts on the Tipágarhi River. The Gazetteer has given such a confused account of its position, that perhaps it may be well to give my route from Wyrágarh to Tipágarh in detail.

Starting from Wyrágarh and crossing the Sáth, the track runs parallel to the Khobrágarhi River, and at no great distance from it to the village of Máliwárá, passing *en route* the villages Seoni, Nagarwáhi, Delanwári, Mánápur, Mángdhá, Tultuli, Kharki, Angárá, and Pari, crossing the Khobrágarhi just before getting into Máliwárá, which is situated near the junction of the Khobrágarhi and Tipágarhi Rivers, the Khobragárhi coming from the north and the Tipágarhi from the east. At Maliwárá, the track which also marks the line of customs extending across to Orissa has to be abandoned, and a still narrower track adopted, leading from Maliwárá to Pálápundi; thence crossing a tributary of the Tipágarhi and still going parallel to the Tipágárhi, the village Huraldand, consisting of two distinct settlements, a mile and a half apart, is reached; at the further of these settlements the track, so far passable for laden cattle, ceases, and beyond is only a foot-path through dense bambu and other forest, still, however, running east and parallel to the Tipágarhi and crossing it repeatedly; when within about three miles of th

fort, the river Tipágarhi is crossed for the last time, and the track winds between high hills on either side, the fort, however, being invisible till within about two miles, when it is seen for a moment from the summit of one of the spurs on which the track mounts; at last, when well within the belt of high hills which screen Tipágarh, and only about half a mile remains, the fort bursts fully to view, perched high up at the head of a valley, all but surrounded by high hills; the ascent is still parallel to one of the feeders of the Tipágarhi, and after a toilsome climb the walls are reached. The valley in which the fort is situated, and of which the great tank of the fort is the lowest part within the area of the fort, is enclosed on all sides, except the south-west, by high hills with densely wooded but gentle slopes, the lowest part of the valley being only about six hundred feet below the level of the high peaks surrounding it; the walls run along the slopes of the hills from the crest of one across the intervening valley to the crest of the next, and so on. I counted five crests, three of which are high and the other two low: the space enclosed between the slopes of these hills is a flat table-land, forming the common head, as it were, of the system of watercourses which run down to the various feeders of the Tipágarhi River; these various lines of watercourses do not run down in a gentle slope from the table-land which has scarped sides, but abruptly, and with a sudden fall. It was impossible to explore the whole of this fort, as no one, even among the villagers of Huraldand, had seen the whole of it; the hills rising from the central valley with gentle slopes become precipitous towards the top, where jagged rocks rise towering over the dense jangal in naked masses. The walls are built exclusively of huge blocks of stone laid dry on each other; the width varies considerably, but is nowhere much over five feet. Whenever the steep sides of the hill or a vertical faced rock rendered access difficult, the walls have been led so as to take advantage of these natural obstacles; naturally, therefore, the plan and profile of the walls are extremely irregular.

There are, near the south-west peak, the remains of numerous dwelling-houses—narrow, small cells, of stone roughly piled on each other, dry, and now, of course, roofless; these ruins are pointed out as the remains of the palace of the Raja, and I am of opinion that tradition is correct in this, for this group of ruins is situated within what was evidently the citadel of the fort. It is only a short way below the top of one of the principal peaks, the south-west one: the size of

the rooms, however, is strongly suggestive of extreme discomfort, but the princes and nobles of India appear never to have had any clear ideas of personal domestic comfort; they could build great forts, great temples profusely ornamented with sculpture, great masjids, great halls; in short, great public buildings, but with rare exceptions towards the end of the Mughal dynasty, not one, even of the noblest of them, appears to have built a comfortable dwelling-house for himself.

Sculptures or inscriptions there are none: a solitary figure of Hanumân, rudely scratched in outline on the vertical face of a rock forming part of the fort walls, is all that exists in the way of sculpture in this fort.

I could see only one tank, though the "Settlement Report of the Chânda District" in giving a sketch plan of the fort shews two tanks. The tank I have seen is embanked on part of one side by massive blocks of stone roughly broken to shape and set on each other, probably in mud, for mortar there is none. The embankment is formed in steps and is of a respectable height, and when in good order must have kept in a large body of water, and formed a really fine tank. At present it is breached, and this breach is said to be the source of the Tipâgarhi River. There was, however, no water running at the breach, but from some other source a small stream did trickle over the west side of the breached fort walls, where it crossed the lowest portion of the table-land; this stream is a feeder of the Tipâgarhi River, the dry breach being considered the origin of the main river: possibly lower down some water finds its way between the interstices of the stones.

The water of the tank was wholesome and pure, notwithstanding its being almost choked with weeds; but the weeds choking it were simply grasses with roots imbedded in the soil, and not floating on the surface: in the middle of the tank an oblong space of about five hundred feet in length was perfectly clear of weeds, so also was the embanked side of the tank.

The romantic story of the chariot and bullocks driven down the slope of the hill into the tank must be a myth, as there is ample flat space between the slopes of the hills and the margin of the tank to have enabled the cart-wheels to have got effectually imbedded in the soft earth near the edge of the tank, unless, indeed, the lady drove her chariot down the steps of the embankment with numerous bumps into the

tank. I did not hear the legend: either my guides were not sufficiently communicative, or did not know it.

The fort is very strong from its inaccessible position in the centre of a group of hills, the passes between which could be easily defended; but though strong in this way, the very cause which thus makes it strong equally effectually lessens its importance, for the egress from it is naturally as difficult as the ingress, and a small force could effectually mask it; it would hardly yield to a blockade, as it is well supplied with water and has ample space within to grow food for a small garrison.

Tradition ascribes the building of the fort to Drupchá Raja; it is narrated that he had a subterranean passage made from Wyrágarh to the fort, where he had an *akháda*, or place of exercise: the Raja of Pauni, however, used to make use of the *akháda* also by a subterranean passage from his capital. This greatly annoyed the Raja of Wyrágarh, who longed to meet the intruder, but the Raja of Pauni was too wide awake to be thus caught.

The legend is of importance, as indicating that the fort of Tipágarh cannot claim higher antiquity than the forts of Pauni and Wyrágarh, both of which certainly do not date beyond the bright days of Gond rule. The stories of the Brahmans about the founding of Wyrágarh, and of its name being derived from the celebrated Vyrochana, hardly need notice, as they are utterly without any foundation.

BÁLOD.

Bálod is a good-sized village, possessing numerous temples and a ruined fort. The fort is situated at the north edge of an embanked tank at the west end of, and outside, the city. The fort is apparently of the Maharatha period, or, at any rate, not much older. The walls are of rubble set in mortar. Portions of the walls at the west end, with its gate and towers, still stand in a ruinous condition. Another gate also stands half ruined, but the greater portion of the walls are broken down, and the ditch is much filled up. The walls near the west gate are ornamented with sculptured figures of Hanuman let in. The Hindu origin of the fort is proved beyond doubt by the bas relief of a Ganeça over the existing gateway, and of Hanumán. The gateway is as usual, in the form of a square chamber, with archways at both ends. The archways are fine and lofty, and the voissoirs are of cut stone. These

are held together by iron cramps and bars running along the curve and within the thickness of the arch ring, apparently passing through holes cut for the purpose in the voissoirs; it may, however, be that the iron bar, instead of running continuously through, is in small pieces dowelled into the contiguous sides of the voissoirs: one of the voissoirs hangs quite loose, held solely by this iron rod.

The walls on the three sides away from the tank are, or were, tolerably strong and high; the tank face, however, is defended, or rather only screened, by a low, weak wall. The entire length of the tank embankment on which the fort stands, as at Umrer, is lined with stones set in the form of steps with regular bathing ghats. Numerous small temples, without any pretensions to size, beauty or antiquity, line the banks. The south-west portion of the fort appears to have contained the Royal or gubernatorial buildings; the south-east end appears to have contained the priestly establishment, as temples are more frequent at this end. The whole ground on which the fort stands is raised considerably above the level of the country, being in short the embankment of the tank. The fort accordingly is a long, narrow one, like the one at Umrer. The ditch has been very wide, nearly seventy-five feet at the narrowest, and more elsewhere. The tank is now choked, or rather covered, with water-plants and weeds, but the water is good and clear. The whole place is utterly deserted and overgrown with brushwood. No inscriptions exist. Fragments of cut stone from older structures are sometimes to be met with, but not in abundance; brick has also been used in the buildings, and plaster has been profusely used. In approaching the place from the west, it has a very picturesque look, as that side is the one least destroyed. The place is, however, gradually in course of demolition, partly to build new houses in the city, partly to spread the rubbish on the main road, which for some distance beyond the city on either side is in excellent order.

Beyond the fort, to the east, is the city: here are a few modern temples of no interest, and two other older ones on the bank and one in the dry bed (it is said) of a tank; they are small and of no interest. Numerous tanks, some dry, are to be seen about the city to its south and to its north.

At the east end of the city, and to the north of the road, which likewise marks the customs line, are several old temples. One group consists of seven temples, of which two are quite modern, built of the fragments of older ones. I will enu-

merate them beginning from the south: the first is a small temple named Kapileswar's, consisting of a cell with a small portico on four pillars in front. It faces west and is Saivic, with figure of Ganeça over the door: inside is a four-armed statue with Nandi on the pedestal; the cell is roofed by intersecting squares and surmounted by a tall tower roof; the execution is coarse, and style quite plain; the material granite cut and set without mortar. A bas-relief representing Hanuman well smeared with vermilion lies outside.

Next to it, and almost touching it, is another temple, which is exactly its duplicate in plan, but differs from it in having a pyramidal roof broken into steps instead of the tall tower roof; a plain square band runs round the walls of the temple; the plan is devoid of variety, but the elevation is relieved by bold horizontal lines, especially the roof. A profile of its walls is given in the plate.

Opposite the first temple stands a small temple precisely like it; its door faces east, and is opposite to that of the first; it has a tower roof: Ganeça is sculptured over its entrance.

Touching it on its north side, is a large temple consisting of two distinct small temples, now connected together by a pillared hall; the hall is open all round to within a couple of feet of the floor, where runs the usual bench supporting the half or dwarf pillars that in their turn support the architraves and roof; the bench forms a convenient seat for all that choose to avail themselves of it; a single line of entire pillars, irregularly disposed, runs transversely along the centre; the cells have independent tower roofs, and these have chambers inside above the sanctum in the hollow of the tower; the southern cell has an argha inside, but no lingam and no symbol over the entrance; the northern cell has Ganeça over its entrance: in material and construction they are similar to the others.

Next to this, on the north, is a small temple on a raised platform, of modern date; and next to this is a tank, or *bauli*, with cut-stone ghâts and walls all round in good order: the water is necessarily very filthy, being small in quantity, and bathed in by a great many people. On the west edge of the tank, or *bauli*, stands a modern temple on the site of an ancient one; this temple appears to have been the largest here, and to have had a mandapa in front, the ruins of which lie in a confused heap in front of the modern temple, which consists of a well-plastered tower-roofed cell, occupying the position of the cell of the original temple, and doubtless is

only the old cell repaired: among the ruins of the mandapa lies a pillar with an inscription, the material being a hard reddish, or rather deep purple stone; the inscription is in three lines, one of which is simply an invocation, "*Cri swaya*," the other two are longer, but the characters are clumsily formed, and I cannot even make a guess as to the age of the characters beyond this, that they are later than the tenth or eleventh century. This inscription is of interest, as being the only actual inscription found in a class of temples, the precise age of which is unknown. These temples I would ascribe, from their near resemblance in style, to the same period as those at Umrer and Wyragarh; but I must observe that it is quite possible they are older and only repaired at the time of the rise of the Chándá dynasty, for the difference in style, though not much, is quite perceptible—in any case, they certainly belong to some period subsequent to the flourishing days of Indian architecture, and perhaps posterior to the first Muhammadan ascendancy, but anterior to the later conquests made by Akbar and his successors. This inscription, the only one I have found belonging to temples of this class, accordingly acquires an exaggerated importance.

To the west of the group of temples is a large tank now almost dry, and traces of another beyond. Two other tanks exist a few hundred yards to the south-west, and another to the south: this last is now quite filled up.

A single temple and remains of another stand about five hundred feet to the south-east of the group, near a tolá of the village Bálod; the one in best preservation is covered with plaster, and is not undeserving of notice from its beauty, though it is small; the other is half-ruined and is close to the village: a few remains shewing the existence once of other temples here, still lie about.

Sati pillars are very numerous here, on the banks of all tanks in the village and in the fort; the most interesting of these is one on the roadside, about half a mile to the east of the city. This pillar has served three times successively as a sati monument. On one side is a date, Samvat one thousand and five, with a longish inscription, which has, however, now been worn smooth, and is perfectly illegible, the latter end of a name, ending in Deva, being alone legible; below this inscription is another quite distinct, and with a distinct date of its own; the date is quite worn as well as the inscription, but the word Samvat is visible. On another face are

three sculptured compartments; the topmost represents a man and a woman on either side of a lingam; the second compartment has had its figures broken; the lowest represents a figure seated cross-legged: below these, and written perpendicularly, *i. e.*, along the length of the pillar, is an inscription in three lines, in characters which Prinsep ascribes to the second century A. D. This inscription is most important, as being beyond question the earliest Sati inscription yet found; and its importance is still further heightened by the sculptures which shew that here, at that early period, when Buddhism was the predominant religion in other parts of India, Saivism flourished and Sati was practised. The position of the inscription relatively to the sculptures shew clearly that the two were executed at the same time. The sculptures represent the religion of the deceased, the number of wives who became sati, and the mode of his death. the first compartment gives the reply to the first two queries. The second compartment, shewing the cause of death, is unfortunately wanting; the third compartment probably indicates his position in life: the man was evidently a man of rank, but not a warrior—perhaps a Brahman. I strongly suggest that this unique and most ancient sati monument, yet found, be preserved from destruction by some stray cart-wheel, by being removed and deposited in the Calcutta Museum; its weight is not great, and a cart, or eight coolies, would readily be able to transport it.

SORAR.

About eight miles from Bálod on the road to Dhamtari and between Sorar and Dhobinpuri, are the remains of a temple known as the house of a Kalál Raja. This Raja is said to have been originally a *kalál*, or spirit-vendor, but gradually he became so rich and powerful as to become the ruler of the country; he is said to have been very mean and cruel, and totally regardless of the welfare of his subjects. A number of holes in regular rows in the hard laterite (which, at the village of Sorar, and for some distance on either side, crops up to the surface) are pointed out as the receptacles formed for the tips of the *dhenkis* for cleaning and pounding rice; the dhenkis are said to have been worked by forcibly impressing every one who happened to be passing by, refusal to work being followed by the offender being himself placed under a large dhenki whose site is marked by a larger hole. Notwithstanding his wealth and power, the Raja is neverthe-

less said not to have abandoned his liquor trade, which he still sold seated on the top of the ruined temple known as his house.

The temple appears to have consisted of a sanctum five feet square inside and eight feet outside (it has now entirely disappeared, leaving only marks of its foundation), approached through a mandapa twenty-one feet square outside, supported by four rows of pillars, four in each row, the outermost pillars being all dwarf ones standing on a bench as at the temple at Umrer and elsewhere; the only remains now actually standing are two whole and four dwarf pillars with the portions of roof supported by them; the roof is formed of flat slabs laid across the architraves and crossing each other; the temple faces east.

This temple from its style is thus seen to belong to the same class as those already noticed at Umrer and elsewhere, but it is most unlikely that the local kings of Chándá could have built this so far east, as then their kingdom would have been more extensive than appears to have been from other sources of information.

From the village of Navapárá to Majhgaon runs a long stretch of broken blocks of stone lying loose on each other in irregular masses, and presenting the exact appearance of the ruins of a great fort two miles long; at intervals stand upright stones looking like sati pillars: the whole present an appearance of desolation unrivalled even by the ruins of Delhi. I could, however, find no ground on examination to consider this the site of a fort or of a great town; it appears to be the remains of a quarry. The general surface of the country for some miles is gravelly, with extensive plains of laterite, while here crops up granite, and it is probable therefore that stone for building the temples in and for a considerable distance round the place as Balod, Sorar, Gowror, &c., was obtained hence.

GOWROR.

A few miles further is Gowror, a small village, with a scarcity of water and shade. Although there are several tanks, most of them are dry, and the remainder contain very small depths of water; the best tank is a large and apparently newly-deepened one at the extreme east of the village. Near the village are the remains of numerous temples.

To the north-west of the village is a large tank, close to which is a temple; the cell is five feet nine inches square

inside, roofed in the style of intersecting squares and surmounted by a tower roof; in front is a small portico on four pillars; the material is cut granite set without cement; the tower above the roof of the cell is hollow, and an entrance once existed in the front face of the tower giving access to it; the tower, as usual with such towers, is built of courses of cut stone overlapping each other inside to a small extent till they meet and close the opening; then the stone filling is continued solidly up a short way, surmounted finally by the corrugated disk, or *amalaka*. The entrance of this temple faces north. Ganeça is sculptured over the entrance.

Five hundred feet to north of this is another temple, or rather the ruins of one which must have been much larger. Two hundred feet to the north of this is another temple, of which only four pillars are now standing; it faces east. This was a very large temple, and was evidently surrounded by minor shrines, and probably by an enclosing wall, the mound on which its four solitary pillars stand being over one hundred and fifty feet square covered with fragments. One of the pillars had an inscription which has entirely peeled off, leaving only two letters, one of which is the letter *m* of the form of the second century 𑀫; the other 𑀪 a *bh* of the same period. The temple stood on the margin of a large tank embanked all round, the tank being to the east and straight in front of the temple.

From the remains that exist, this temple appears to have been a complete one according to the best examples, and surrounded by minor shrines. The four pillars now standing are evidently the four central pillars of the Mahá Mandapa; the execution is plain, the material granite, and no traces of cementing material can be seen: most of the stone has doubtless been removed to build later temples, and I think it not improbable that the existing small temple noted above may have been built from the materials of this larger one, and of the other large one whose site is marked by broken blocks alone.

This temple appears to have belonged to the same period as the sati pillar at Balod, noticed above. There can be no doubt that many places in this portion of Central India, though now thinly inhabited and consisting in great part of waste land, were once of great importance, and possessed numerous inhabitants; indeed it must have been so, for one of the most important roads of ancient times passed this way; this Old Road is to this day used by pack animals, and is the basis, to a great

extent, of the modern customs line and local roads; it appears to me, then, not uninteresting to trace this great line of communication.

OLD ROAD.

The Old Road appears to have come from some point near Bhandak or Dewalwárá, supposed to be the ancient Kundilpur (I cannot speak with confidence on this point, not having examined the country west of Nágpur), through Deotek close past Palásgarh, past Banjári (a great mart for articles of traffic by pack animals), past Ámbágarh Chowki (which possesses a small fort of no interest, and probably not very old), past Bálod, Sorar, to Gowror, whence it branched into two, one going *viá* Kákér and Sehwá towards Ganjám, through the great fort of Jaugada, which contains one of Asoka's edicts; the other branch going past Dhamtari and Rájam, thence probably skirting the Mahanadi northwards past Savaripura, Savarinararan, &c., to Katak. The determination of these ancient lines of communication is of great importance; for my experience, little as it is, has shewn me that away from the great lines of communications of ancient times few archæological remains are to be met with; they are not spread about at random here and there in isolated spots, but *always* on the great old roads, and however isolated any particular remnant of antiquity may be at first sight, it will be found on close examination to be on some old line of road. If, then, we could get a skeleton map, giving the positions of places of primary importance at any given period, the lines on which, and on which alone, remains of that period would be found, could, with a fair topographical knowledge of the country, be readily marked, and those lines alone gone over and examined, thus saving endless trouble and time. Unfortunately, the materials for constructing such a map are only now in course of collection.

Half a mile to the east of the village is a temple, consisting of a cell surmounted by the usual tower roof, the entire front face of this temple tumbled down long ago, and the temple is leaning over considerably; the walls are only one foot thick, of stone (cut granite), set dry without any cement. This temple shews very clearly the construction of the interior; the cell with four corner pillars supporting a roof of intersecting squares and surmounted by the hollow tower built of stones slightly overlapping each other inwards till the opening is small enough to be conveniently spanned by a single

block; the outline is not straight either inside or out, but a graceful curve.

Near this temple, and also in great numbers near and about the village, are sati pillars of no special interest and devoid of inscriptions.

There is, however, one pillar, which I supposed to be sati, near the temple first noticed to the north-west of the village. This pillar is, or was, inscribed on three faces besides being sculptured on one. The sculpture represents apparently a horse following (chasing?) a pig; the figures are much defaced. The sculpture is on the south face; below it was an inscription which has now peeled off. On the north face is a long and important inscription, also incomplete from the peeling off of the stone near the edge, leaving only the centre intact. The west face had also an inscription, of which a single line has alone escaped the effects of time and weather. The east face is plain and marked with chisel holes, showing that it was intended at one time to split the stone longitudinally.

The incomplete inscription on the north face is of the Chálukyás; the same expression, "*Tilaka Chálukyá*," which occurs in the pillar in the Nágpur Museum, said to have been brought from Satábaldi, and which was noticed first by General Cunningham, occurs here, but the peeling off of the stone has destroyed the final *k* and *y* of the "*Chálukyá*." Four Sris occur in the inscription, but none are followed by any complete names, owing to the destruction of the stone. One of the titles used has for its latter part Násaka, evidently referring to the destroying power of the hero of the inscription over his enemies; the characters are similar to those of the inscription at Nágpur, and I attribute it accordingly to the same period. The discovery of this inscription proves that the Chálukyá power certainly extended to this place, and the great temples which now lie ruined were most probably built by earlier Rajas of this dynasty; the later restorations may have been made by the later descendants of the same dynasty, for I think it highly improbable that the power of the Chándá princes ever extended far, even if the temples were ascribed to the same age as the remains at Wyragarh, which from their style they cannot be. The discovery of this late Chálukyá inscription throws some light on the builders of the temples at Balod, the inscription there being in characters not very different to those used here; and therefore they may also, with every probability, be ascribed to the later Chálukyás.

The inscription at Nágpur being dated in one thousand and eight Samvat, I would ascribe the small temples here and at Balod to the eleventh century; but the great temple here, of which ruins alone now remain, I would assign to a much earlier date.

SORAR.

I omitted to notice a much-worn sati inscription found near Sorar near the ruined temple noticed there. As the inscription is clearly sati, and from its worn and mutilated condition of no importance as far as I can see, I dismiss it, only remarking that it was cut on a well-smoothed, thick slab which may have come from an old temple.

GOWROR.

The legend regarding the remains at Gowror is that these temples and gods were travelling from Rájam to Kákér, which place they would have reached if the light of dawn had not overtaken them here *en route*: thus arrested, they have remained here ever since. This legend is of value only as shewing that the Great Old Road did go direct from here to Rájam, and that there was no other road from Rajam to Kákér except through this place, notwithstanding the great détour.

A pillar of the great ruined temple noticed here is shewn in Plate XVIII: it speaks for itself.

The temples here appear to have been Saivic, as Saivic remains of statues are numerous on the tanks and in the village.

DHAMTARI.

Dhamtari is a place of considerable importance now, and was not an insignificant village even in ancient times, as shewn by the ruins of temples and other remains. There are numerous tanks and extensive and thick mango groves about the city; the *garh* or fort, as it is called, was at the west end; this is nothing more than a low mound; the tanks, both in numbers, size and height of embankments, form quite a feature here, and most of them being full of weeds and marshy, must furnish abundance of miasmatic exhalations. There are near the southern end of the city several temples, all close to each other and to the modern Government dispensary,

Of these, one group consists of three temples. The principal one now kept up consists of two distinct temples now connected together, and forming one temple by having had a *mandapa* built in front of and common to both. This temple doubtless stands on the site of, and is probably a restoration of, older temples; it is not, as it stands, older than the Maharatha period, but the materials used—cut granite and sandstoné—are certainly much older, and are now very clumsily put together; it was considered too sacred to permit me to enter even the courtyard.

Another temple, but which the Brahmans call a sati monument, stands opposite the great temple, and outside its courtyard; it is of cut granite and faces west as the other faces east; a figure of Ganeça is sculptured over the doorway, and in general appearance it looks like a temple, notwithstanding the assertion of the Pujaris. Like the other, it is a restoration of an older shrine, and I have little doubt that it was restored with the purpose of making it a sati monument; hence the assertion of the Pujaris: it is neither elegant nor any way worth further notice.

The third temple of the group stood close to the south of the great temple, and is now in ruins.

Besides this group, there is near the dispensary another temple, the most elegant in the place. This temple dates to a period close to the best days of Indian art in these provinces, and although there is not that profusion of sculpture here that is seen elsewhere, there is a boldness and variety in the play of light and shade in its plan, and in its numerous mouldings, and panels (doubtless intended originally to be sculptured) that takes it entirely out of the degenerate styles at Umrer and Wyragarh. This temple is small, and consists simply of a cell and a portico; the latter surmounted by a gable roof projecting from and beyond the face of the tower, which rises over the sanctum. What I have called a gable roof is not a triangle, but the frustrum of a triangle in form, the apex being wanting. The sanctum is roofed in the style of intersecting squares as usual, surmounted by the hollow tower. An entrance in front above the level of the top of the roof of the portico gives access to the upper chamber. The *amalaka* on the tower is wanting, having been broken and displaced by some accident, and a part of the upper portion of the tower itself is broken; but nevertheless it is the best temple in the place. In style of ornamentation of the faces of the tower it resembles strongly the *brick* towers

over similar single cell temples in Bengal, especially the great circle in the middle of the upper portion of the tower faces with its sculptured, vertical pendant, and ornamental tracery in the middle; and though part of this has disappeared with the upper portion of the tower, enough remains to prove its existence originally. The material used is cut-stone set without cement throughout. The mouldings of the basement, though each single projection and recess is bold, does not altogether form a pleasing whole from the circumstance that the extreme projecting faces are all in the same vertical plane with the general face of the temple, so that the mouldings, far from adding in appearance to the strength or solidity of the structure, convey an idea of weakness; instead of the projections gradually widening the base of the structure, the projections here do not widen it in the least, while the recesses, which give relief to the projections, actually take away from the width of base: the effect is very unsatisfactory, and for the best reason; it is a constructive error.

A portion of the mouldings is no doubt buried beneath the level of the present ground, as the floors of the portico and sanctum are both below this level, and it is quite possible that the defects pointed out above may partially have been remedied lower down. A comparison of this temple with that at Khálári will shew that all the mouldings of this temple now visible above ground, have corresponding ones at Khálári; the inference therefore is, that the buried portion of the mouldings of this temple would be found to correspond also to those at Khálári. The vast influence on external appearance exercised by the portion of mouldings of the Khálári temple which are below the parts that correspond to the mouldings here visible above ground, can be but faintly appreciated from a linear elevation; but even in a linear elevation it will readily be perceived on comparing the plates. I consider it a great pity that I could not dig down to obtain a complete profile of the mouldings of this temple, which is really beautiful, its beauty only marred by enough of its mouldings being visible above ground to give it an air of weakness; but I considered myself fortunate in being able to take advantage of the temporary absence of the ministering Brahmans to get even the few measurements I have; the Brahmans here, and generally in these lately-acquired Maharatha territories, being very intolerant and insolent to those unarmed with magisterial powers, and correspondingly abjectly submissive to those that have the magic power.

From Gowror the Bengal type of temple begins to show itself in the Central Provinces, and though occasionally temples of the Wyrágarh type are to be found, the predominant style is one or other of the Bengal types.

An interesting question here arises, whether the Bengal temples are derived from these, or these from the Bengal ones, although at first sight it might appear that these comparatively barbarous places must have obtained their art from the more civilized Bengal; yet an examination of the inscriptions decidedly show that there are few temples in Bengal so old as those in this part of India, and I conclude, therefore, that the art of temple-building travelled northwards from the south into Bengal through Orissa: a discussion of the question is reserved for a future paper.

The Asiatic Researches, Vol. 15, mentions an inscription on a stone outside the Pagoda of Lachman in the fort. I could, however, discover only two inscriptions—one on a Sati pillar in the city, of no interest and much worn; the other on the statue *within* the Lachman temple, the first temple here noticed. This last is incomplete from peeling off of the stone; it is evidently a record of the sculptor or builder in two short lines, the last word of the lower line being niramíte, evidently a mistake for nirmmite, 'constructed'

A road from here branches off to Sehwá and Kákér; to reach the last, however, the Mahánadi has to be twice crossed. I consider, therefore, that the original road branched off to Kákér from near Gowror, which would not cross the Mahánadi at all, the present road being the necessary result of the present importance of Dhamtari as the head-quarters of the tehsili or subordinate revenue and magisterial division of the Raypur District. As I did not visit Sehwa and Kákér myself, the following account of them, which the Deputy Commissioner of Raypur, Mr. Fisher, kindly allowed me to extract from his Journal, will be of interest :—

SEHWA.

"*Sehwa.*"—"Went out to eastward about a mile to some strange old temples dedicated to Mahadeo, Lachman and others; they are built, the larger ones—of which there are three—on sixteen pillars, walls rising half way up; the pillars are made of large blocks of stone roughly cut and placed on each other, not monoliths,—as most pillars of the kind are; the roofs are made pyramidally of layers of stone, the work is rude but substantial, and is supposed to have been done several generations ago by order of the Raja of Bastar. It was so dark I could not make out satisfactorily of what stone they were made; some of it was granite, some again looked porous, and had weathered very rough. There

were besides three other small temples with the usual form of pointed roof made of steps like the above; these latter are quite small, about six feet square; one is completely overgrown by a pipal tree. Two of the large temples have those dome-shaped temples attached to the western end of the buildings, and puja is regularly performed in them. The one to the south has a slab let into the north of the door into the actual temple covered with Hindi or Sanskrit writing. There is lime plaster used freely about these temples laid on to the granite; it is of excellent quality, but is mostly worn off. There is no apparent reason why the temples should be where they are, and I could find out nothing more about them. There are some twenty sculptures in basalt and sandstone, chiefly of Ganeça, Párvati and other deities, but badly executed. In several of these statues of the deity is carved a hand and wrist standing up with a discus on each side of the hand."

From this description it appears that the temples belong to the Wyragarh class of temples, consisting of a sanctum with a mandapa supported along the faces and on dwarf pillars resting on low walls, and open all round from the architrave to within a short way of the floor. The sculptures spoken of are clearly on Sati pillars, but there may be objects of worship also among them. The inscription alluded to is clearly that mentioned in the Asiatic Researches, Volume 15, as on gate of temple of Kaneswar, Mahadeo, dated Sake one thousand one hundred and fourteen; it is a great pity that a copy of this inscription could not be obtained, and that it has not been clearly ascertained whether the inscription belongs to the temple as it stands, or whether, as too often is the case, an older inscription belonging to an older temple previously on the spot and in ruins was appropriated to the restored temple. From the description given, I infer the temple as it stands to be a restoration, and the inscription therefore to have originally belonged to another temple on the site, perhaps the very one restored.

I now continue the extract from the Journal:—

DEOKHUT.

"*Deokhut*—eight miles west of Sehwa, four small but old temples on the banks of the river; they are small with conicopyramidal tops. I noticed that the corners of one shewed a slight up-turning at the corner of each stone, as is seen in Chinese buildings; three faced east and one faced west; in the latter was Mahadeo, and a quantity of the ak (madar) flowers were on the stone. In two other temples were very elaborate carved slabs, on which in relief were carved Vishnu and Lakshmi on one, and Mahadeo and Parvati on the other; the work is minutely and well executed in what appears to be a saponaceous-looking limestone; other gods also were carved in miniature round the sides;

the main images are slightly injured, and would not therefore be worshipped by any devout orthodox Hindu.

"The Malguzar, who is a near resident, said that every rainy season the footsteps of some pret or jin are to be seen near the place; some ban tulsi was growing near the place."

MURPAR.

From Deokhut Mr. Fisher went to Dalddi, 9 miles to west, and thence to Murpar, 5 miles south-west. Of this place he writes—

"Here are some curious old temples quite ruined; there are images about two and a half feet high of Mahádeo, Ganeça, Râmchandra, and, I think Vishnu, cut out of granitic black gneiss; the buildings are I think, made of the same material, but I cannot determine whether the stone is black granite or gneiss."

KÁKÉR.

Of Kákér he writes—

"Saw some very curious old temples to the west of the village; one has a Bijak, giving, I was told, some particulars of its history. I must try and get a rubbing of it; they are very old and utterly neglected now.

"Before leaving Kákér I went up hill to the south of it to the 'kila.' It rises almost perpendicularly, a mass of huge boulders and fragments of gneiss, &c. The west end of the hill and the east end and the south-west side are covered with huge boulders piled over one another as black as ink; a few green trees (Ficus) have here and there managed to take root and grow, but except these there is no vegetation on those portions of the hill. The ascent is very steep, through stones and small jangal; large maiden-hair ferns just drying up are to be found under the shade of almost every stone; the hill is about 500 feet high above the village, or perhaps a little more; the ascent is from the north-west. Round the top of the hill a wall has been formed by filling up the open spaces between the natural blocks of stone, so as to form a continuous rampart, but it is now quite out of repair: the gate is an ordinary doorway without a door. Inside this there are several plot of level ground, in all perhaps about one and a half acres; it is hard to estimate the area, because a view of it as a whole cannot well be had. Near the door are some upright posts, the only remains of what I was told was in old times the Raja's kutcherry; near these are traces of other houses. Going along to the south, a lower plateau (by 20 or 30 feet) is reached; in this is a curious natural stone reservoir about forty paces by twenty; it is said to be very deep, and water remains in it all the year round; it is now very dirty and yellow looking; there is a stone projecting into it about half-way along the south side (its length is east and west), and beyond this stone to the east no one is allowed to bathe, because the water-spirit pulls any offender against the *lex loci* under the

water. If the tank were emptied and cleaned this hot season, it would be a great advantage: the water would then be very pure; as it is, the accumulations of ages are in it. On the west side is a small temple, and some very small, and apparently very old images and carvings; there is one of the two foot-prints, with a horned-goat's head in front of the toes. There is a mela here (I forget in what month) generally once a year, and it did not fill this year. I was shewn a breach near the gate, and told that an iron 'gola' from a Maharatta cannon, posted under some mango trees to the west of the nadi below, had torn through it and broken the branch off a pipal tree some thirty yards off on the plateau; this was quite enough for the garrison, who evacuated the place, escaping down the south-east slope.

The Asiatic Researches speak of two inscriptions at Kákér, one dated Samvat one thousand two hundred and forty-two, the other illegible. Mr. Fisher has seen one, probably the dated one.

RÁJAM.

Rájam must once have been a place of great consequence, although it is now small and not very important.

A great annual fair, however, is still held here, which used, it is said, to last three months, *i. e.*, a fortnight for the people to collect, a fortnight during which the traders packed up and departed gradually, and two entire months during which the merchants kept their shops open and drove a thriving trade. At present the people say the gathering is restricted to a month, after which all have to depart; this is said to be an order from the local authorities, who find it quite impossible to stay here three months to preserve order, neglecting every other part of their district, and this, too, in the cold weather, the season for travelling in India; this is the popular version, how far true I do not know.

The ruins of Rájam consist of numerous temples, the most remarkable of which is that dedicated to Mahádeo Kuleswar, and situated at the extreme end of the spur of land between the Payari and the Mahánadi Rivers at their junction. The temple stands on the extreme brink, and is only saved from being bodily washed away by massive and most carefully and solidly-built revetments on either flank of the tongue of land and at the rear, where it has in course of time got severed from the main tongue of land by the river working to the rear of the temple. At present, accordingly, the temple is really on an island close to the tongue of land spoken of. The revetments are not now entirely as they

were built originally, if, indeed, there were any originally. The present revetments consist of massive blocks of rubble stone set in lime cement, but this has long ago undergone extensive repair, and portions are constantly being repaired and renewed as rendered necessary by encroachments of the river. It appears to me that originally the tongue of land stretched much further out into the junction of the two rivers than it now does, and revetments were neither necessary nor in existence. Gradually, however, the rivers cut away the tongue of land till the temple began to be threatened; then the revetments were built; since then the river has been constantly trying to encroach, has already cut the revetted island off the main land, and, if not constantly watched, will infallibly carry off the temple.

The antiquity of the inscriptions at Rájam has no doubt greatly aided the belief that its temples are equally ancient. I regret I must greatly reduce the romantic antiquity of the temples. The temple of Mahádeo Kuleswar consists of a sanctum facing east and entered through a hall or mandapa. There is another room or cell next to the cell of Mahádeo which is said to be empty (I was not so much as allowed to approach the sacred shrine). The two are in fact apparently separated only by the dividing wall, in which there is no connecting passage. The empty cell is to the north of Mahádeo's cell; the two open into the hall or mandapa, which is a pillared hall running the entire length of both cells This pillared hall is very narrow, being supported only by two lines of pillars, one of which, of course, abuts against the wall of the cells behind. The front of the hall is open, the sides are closed, but with narrow door-ways: it is at the side of the northern narrow entrance that the illegible inscription, is let in. Both the cells have tower roofs surmounted by the usual amalaka fruit; but what is particularly noticeable is the form of the amalaka, quite different to the usual antique form; it is in fact a composite thing, consisting of several discs piled on each other of gradually diminishing diameters and with narrow spaces between. The aggregate makes up an outline like the solid generated by the revolution of a right angled triangle with a concave hypothenuse round its vertical side. The towers of the two cells are not equal, that over the cell of Mahádeo being higher. The external forms of the towers, too, have not the graceful curve of the ancient towers, but is more rigid in outline, though not quite straight. Lastly, the cells inside are vaulted and thickly coated with plaster

inside; the stones composing the temple are set in mortar and are covered with plaster; the pillars of the hall are plain and evidently not in their original positions. The only rational conclusion I can arrive at is, that the temple is very much more modern than is generally imagined, and I really do not see any grounds for admitting the probability of its having being built at any period prior to the rise of the Ráyapura dynasty and the founding of Ráyapura itself. This event took place probably some time at the end of the fourteenth, or beginning of the fifteenth century. The inscription from Ráyapura, which mentions Ráya Deva Rája in the Nagpur Museum, bears date one thousand four hundred and fifty-eight Samvat, and one thousand three hundred and twenty-two Sake.

No doubt older temples once stood here, as testified by the materials used up in the construction of the present temple, and these older temples must necessarily date to the period of the earliest of the inscriptions; but there is, I repeat, not the slightest ground for imagining the present temples to have attained the hoary age those dates would imply; on the contrary, every argument, from their style and constructive features, points to a recent origin. But we are under a great difficulty in regard even to the dates of the inscriptions. It is perfectly clear that the era used is not the Vikramâditya era, for the simple and sufficient reason, that in one case in the inscription itself the date is expressly styled the Kalachuri Samvat. The form of the characters does indeed show that the Kalachuri Samvat could not have been very widely different from the Vikrama Samvat, or the Saka era, but nevertheless it was different, and what that difference is, has, I fear, yet to be ascertained before we can make use of the inscriptions, not of Rájam alone, but of the entire eastern portion of the Central Provinces; for almost every one of the three figure dates found, whether at Sirpur, or Malhar, or Seorináráyán or Ratanpur or elsewhere, have a very distinct qualifying title attached to the Samvat, some being named Kalachuri Samvat, others the Chedi Samvat, a few by mistake or omission alone, I fear, being styled simply Samvat. Here, then, we have a sea of difficulties, and hitherto I have been unable to find any way of getting out of it. To revert to a description of the temples in Rájam,—there are numerous temples in the city, several forming a group, of which the principal is known as the shrine of Rajib Lochan or Râma Chandra. In this temple I was told is enshrined a black

stone statue representing a cross-legged seated human figure, with one hand resting on the thigh, the other held horizontally below the chest; it is known as a representation of Rama in his form of Raja Lochana, but from its close resemblance to Buddhist statues in general, and to the great inscribed Buddhist statue at Rajjhâná near Lakhisarai in Bengal in particular, I have no hesitation in pronouncing it Buddhist. There are, I believe, some six or eight temples within a space enclosed by high walls. I entered the enclosure, but immediately on entrance was pounced upon by the Brahmans of the place, who gave me to understand in a bullying manner that my presence within the enclosure was not wanted. As, however, the pilgrims in the courtyard not only did not think my presence objectionable, but some even came forward to take my part and expostulated with the Brahmans, I took advantage of the diversion to take a hasty peep at some of the temples; all of those that I saw are certainly modern, built of older materials clumsily put together. The principal shrine appears to consist of a cell surmounted by a tower roof and adorned in front by a mandapa or pillared hall. The pillars supporting the hall of this temple, and of most of the other temples, are very remarkable; some consist of entire pillars sculptured on all four faces with figures in bold relief; others appear to be pilasters; but I have a strong suspicion that some, if not all, of these, are merely the pillars split down the middle: one pilaster appeared to me to be the half of a Buddhist rail pillar. The subjects sculptured are various; mostly, however, they consist of human figures, male and female, in very bold relief, many under a canopy or royal umbrella; the canopy in some cases consists of the expanded hood of a many-headed Nâga. Some of the pillars are decidedly Buddhist: one in particular represents Mâyâ Devi holding a branch of the sal tree, while the infant Buddha is actually leaping out of her side. The sculptures are all well and carefully executed, and carefully smoothed; they were probably originally polished; for, notwithstanding their age and coats of whitewash laid on, (I was told, by the order, or at the suggestion of a late Deputy Commissioner of Rayapura), traces of polish can still be seen where the plaster has peeled off. I was not allowed so much as to touch even the foremost row of pillars, which I could readily have done without going inside the temple. One other of the shrines is sacred to Jagannâth. This shrine has a very deep mandapa or portico. I do not know what name to give to the heterogenous pillared block in

front of the sanctum; here the pillars are mostly quite plain. Since this was written I have seen the Barahut sculptures, and the resemblance in style of sculpture between the pillars there and those here is great.

In addition to the sculptured pillars, there are numerous sculptured stone door-frames, some fitted clumsily, others still loose, waiting to be put into future temples. These door-frames are carved with a profusion of ornament, absolutely unrivalled even in the temples of Khajuráhá. Several are decidedly Brahmanical, representing Vishnu lying, with the lotus springing from his navel. The door-frames thus sculptured are of all sizes, some narrow, others wide; one especially is about six feet in clear width, or more. The material appears to be a very fine close-grained sandstone of dark greenish grey color; the color, however, may be due to dirt; the sculptured pillars are of a reddish stone; the plain pillars and cut stone used in the temples are of granite. I had staid within the enclosure hardly ten minutes, when the Brahmans, having succeeded in satisfying the pilgrims of the great impropriety of my being allowed to see their temples and gods, again came forward to demand my departure, with which demand I complied, as it would not have served my purpose to irritate them, my servant having yet to copy the inscriptions, which could only be done with their consent. Some of the pillars are covered with inscriptions in the curious shell characters, and there are, besides, two long inscriptions in the temple of Rámáchandra, one of which is dated, I believe, in two distinct eras, one of which is eight-hundred and seventy or eight-hundred and seventy-nine of an era, which I can only read as Hala, the other date is seven hundred and odd, the units and tens being mutilated. Certain it is that the date eight-hundred and seventy cannot be the Kalachuri era, for the other inscription, which bears date eight-hundred and ninety-six of the Kalachuri era is totally different to this in the form of its characters, and resembles the inscriptions of Karnna Deva and others of his period, while the characters of this is a variety of the characters of the Rájam copper-plates mentioned in Asiatic Researches, Volume 15, and is apparently much more ancient. The stone dated in the Kalachuri era opens with an invocation to Náráyana, the temple therefore to which it belonged, must have been Vaishnavic; but as the sculptures shew incontestibly that the place was once devoted to the Buddhist religion, and this is confirmed by a tradition subsequently to

be given, it is clear that the Vaishnavic temple to which this inscription belonged must be of a date posterior, and probably long posterior, to the first Buddhist temples which existed here, to one of which I suspect the other inscription, in more ancient characters, belongs. If my surmise be correct, it gives an additional proof that the Kalachuri era and the era used in the other inscription are quite and widely distinct. I am thus particular in pointing out, in the most forcible manner, the necessity of ascertaining the origin or initial starting point of the Kalachuri era, as numerous inscriptions in this part of India, and I believe some of those found about Jabalpur, are dated in this Kalachuri era, which, if not carefully borne in mind, may be reduced to our era by the usual equation for Samvat or Saka eras, and create endless confusion in history and chronology.

I must, however, note that other inscriptions in similar characters found elsewhere, as at Sirpur, appear to be Saivic.

The minor inscriptions—some in the shell characters, some in the characters of the earlier inscription, and some in late characters—appear to be all merely pilgrims' records; some of the names are repeated two or three times; there are altogether thirteen of these distinct records.

The story in the Asiatic Researches about the seizure of Râma's sacrificial horse by Raja Raju Lochana, and the destruction of Satrughna by Kardama Rishi, the subsequent arrival of Râma and amicable adjustment of disputes by Râma's consenting to reside at Rájam in the worship of Sivá, and the consequent formation of the statue of Râma in his form of Rajib Lochana, appears to be merely an allegorical record of the struggles of the Saivic and Vaishnavic religions in these parts. The main incidents, divested of their miraculous and preposterous dress, appear to be that Saivic's worship was an established religion in these parts when Vaishnavism came and sought establishment. Saivism would naturally not consent to its establishment, and after various struggles with varying fortunes, a compromise was effected (with, probably, the aid of external pressure, such as a foreign invasion or conquest), and the two religions existed peacefully together. The Saivic inscriptions of Sirpur and elsewhere, undoubtedly more ancient than the Vaishnavic inscription in the temple of Rájam, shews that Saivism really did prevail here before Vaishnavism, and it was only subsequently, and doubtless after many struggles, that Vaishnavism obtained a footing.

But a difficulty arises: if Saivism was the prevailing religion at the time the older inscriptions were written, as appears evident from their opening invocation, and subsequently Vaishnavism shared with Saivism the patronage of the princes and people of the land, when did Buddhism prevail? That Buddhism did exist here, is shewn by the sculptures. It does not appear to have ever made head against Saivism or Vaishnavism after their establishment; at least we have no records or even traditions to that effect, and the only solution of the difficulty that occurs to me is to suppose that it existed prior to the establishment of Saivism, and once overthrown, never again made head; but this involves another difficulty, for, as the only extensive Buddhist remains in the district are to be found here (Arang has indeed a Jaina temple, but not Buddhist, and there are a few remains at Sirpur), it follows that, if Buddhism was the religion which preceded Saivism, Rájam, which contains the most extensive Buddhist remains,* is the most ancient and great city in the district, and in the present state of our knowledge of the antiquities of the district, there appears no escape from this conclusion. I therefore adopt it, although the name Rájam does not occur in any old history, tradition or inscription.

This being admitted, the reason which caused the great old road coming from the west through Deotek to go towards Katak *viá* Rájam becomes intelligible.

The existence originally of Buddhism in Rájam is shown by the traditions which follow.

Rájam is named after a Telin named Rajbá; she used to worship Náráyan regularly, and she did so for 12 years, Náráyan coming to her daily all the time. At the end of 12 years, Náráyan, pleased, desired her to ask a boon; she replied, "My lord, stay here always, and let my name precede yours;" hence Rajbá Telin's name is first uttered in pronouncing the name Rajib Lochan. Tradition says that originally there used to be a community of castes here, all eating together without distinction, as now at Jagannâth. Rajib Lochan one day appeared to the head panda in a dream, and ordered him to discontinue the practice, as it took away pilgrims from his shrine at Jagannâth, few caring to go there when they could obtain all their desires here. Since then the practice has been discontinued.

* Since this was written, other undoubtedly Buddhist remains, dating to about the second century A D., have been discovered by me near Sirpur—*Vide* report for 1875-76.

The old name of the place is sai d to have been Kamal Chhatr previous to Rajbá Telin's time; her temple exists in the courtyard. The Asiatic Researches, on the authority of a copy of Kalika Samvitta, containing the Chitrotpála Mahátmya, in possession of a Brahman, identifies Chitrotpála river with the Mahánadi below its junction with Pyri, the Pretoddharini with the Pyri, and the Utpaleswar with the Mahánadi before its junction with the Pyri. The rivers are said to be in Awandhdes, which must therefore be identified with the country about Rájam. Rájam is further said to have been named Kamal Khetra, and to be so known to this day among Uryá Brahmans, and as Padmapur at Benares. I need not add that these identifications are totally unsupported by any reliable evidence, although, as Utkala is the old name for Orissa, its great river, the Mahánadi, may appropriately be named Utkaleswar.

Jagannâth is also worshipped here as already noticed.

Besides the temples noticed, there are various others, some ruined, some about to be built, others all but finished. Of the last, one stands exactly facing the temple of Mahádeo Kuleswar, on the east bank of the Mahánadi, not far from the great group of temples; its river face is secured by strong rubble revetments set in good mortar. This temple from its position will, no doubt, soon become exceedingly holy. Close to it are numbers of nondescript shrines of all sizes and forms of ugliness. They are passed over as of no interest.

To the east of the great group of temples stand a few isolated shrines of no great antiquity, near the great plain where the annual mela is held. Among them stands also an old and decayed dargah sacred to some local saint, but guarded with as great jealousy as the Hindu temples, its neighbours.

Several pillars and other sculptures are said by the people of Sirpur to have been brought here thence; the extreme convenience of water-carriage in the rains renders the statement probable, but the number and magnitude of the remains here are too great to suppose that the whole, or even the greater portion, could have been brought from Sirpur, especially against the course of the river, which is a torrent in the rains.

The curious and boldly-sculptured pillars, of which one is mentioned as having the statue of Mâyâ Devi sculptured, on it, are 7 feet high and 1 foot 7 inches wide; the figures are 4 feet 7 inches high. I counted 24 of these pillars, but there

may be others which I could not see during my short stay within the inclosure.

SONÁBIRÁ.

At Sonábirá, situated—Lat. 20° 31,′ Long. 82° 31,′—in the State of Nawágarh, the Deputy Commissioner of Ráyapura informs me, the villagers have set up about eight blocks of stone, each on end, by way of objects of worship; they are from 4 to 6 feet high, and form a miniature Stonehenge; they are daubed with vermillion. The village is far away from all civilisation; and Mr. Fisher says that he was the second European who had ever been in the place, the first having been there nine years ago.

HARANPÁP.

About 80 miles due east of Rájam, and 30 east of the Jonk river, stand a range of hills culminating in peaks at the north-east end, they are named the Gandhamardan, or Gandharmadan range; the place is a place of pilgrimage; there is a spring there reputed very efficacious in washing away sins; it is known as the Haranpáp; the name of the hill will readily be remembered as mentioned in the Ramayana. I did not visit the place, but as a fair road is said to exist to it all the way from Rájam,—a road not made by British Civil Officers,—the place may be ancient, and the road may be one of the old great roads; the road goes on to Sonpur, whence one branch goes to Katak and another to Ganjam.*

KHALÁRI.

Thirty miles north-east of Rájam is the small village of Khalári, known usually as Khartti Khalári. The Gazetteer has made a puzzling mistake in placing Khalári 13 miles from Raypur, p. 243, it being nearer 45 miles from Raypur. Here are several temples, the principal one of which stands on the edge of a small dirty pool in the quarter of the city known as the kilá; but there is no kilá at present, though the ground is high, and may once have been surrounded by earthen ramparts, traces of which still exist. The temple consists of a cell facing east, an antárala, the mahamandapa and the mandapa or arddha mandapa, the last two being consolidated together so as to form only one division, to which either

* Since this was written I have been to the place A good old road does exist from the place to Sonpur and on to Katak, and another to Ganjam direct, besides a third *vid* Sonpur See report, 1875-76.

name may be applied. The temple is Saivic, and a figure of Ganeça keeps watch over the entrance, which faces east The temple is particularly plain, by which I mean devoid of sculptured ornament; but the exterior is enriched by plain bold mouldings and surmounted by rows of massive plain tablets in place of the rows of statues of the Khajuráhá temples. The general outline is very graceful; the rows of blocks which here occupy the place of rows of statues are surmounted by a bold, deep-throated cornice, over which rises the tower proper. The pillars in the interior are plain and massive, but elegant. The mahamandapa is open on all sides, the outermost series of supporting pillars being dwarf ones resting on a bench, which rises a short way above the floor and forms a capital seat; this was doubtless its original intention. Although the mouldings are very bold and the profile, as a whole graceful, the plan is flat and tame, differing in this respect from the temple at Dhamtari. This induces me to ascribe it to a period considerably posterior to the age of the Dhamtari temple, whatever that may be. There are no inscriptions in this temple nor masons' marks, but there is an inscription in another smaller temple in the village which will presently be noticed. This small temple consists simply of a small cell fronted by a small mandapa, of much the same style as this temple; it is very plain and devoid of either sculpture or of profusion of mouldings. The material both of this and of the great temple, and indeed of the other temples here, are all cut granite set without cement. The inscription is very clearly written on a polished slab, let into the wall of the mandapa to the left of the entrance of the sanctum; it is secured in its socket by lime mortar. The inscription appears to be of some importance, and may help in determining the starting point of the Kalachuri era; for though it is dated only Samvat 1470 and Saka 1334, it mentions distinctly the Haihaibansi line (here spelt Hihaya instead of Hayhaya) and also the Kalachuris. The inscription is probably a record of a descendant of the ancient Kings of Chattisgarh, who probably had nothing to do with the family of Ráya Deva mentioned in the Ráyapura inscription. As this last is dated a few years prior to the inscription here, I infer that the family reigning at Ráyapura had not then conquered the portion of the country east of the Mahânadi, which continued under the descendants of the old Rajas. The temple was Saivic, the inscription opening with an invocation to Ganapati.

Its position in the temple and the way it is fitted into the wall with lime mortar, while lime mortar occurs nowhere else in the temple or in any other old temple in the village, leads me to suspect that it was put in after the temples had been some time in existence, although the style of the temples being so similar to those at Wyragarh, is not out of harmony with the late date of the inscription. The polish given to the slab was so fine, that to this day it reflects images of objects before it like the polished walls of the caves in Bihar.

There are the ruins of two other temples to the east of the village; they are small and much like this one; one is so completely overgrown by a pipal, that blocks of stone which composed it are actually held up suspended by branches of the tree which has enveloped them, it was Saivic.

An annual fair is held here on the full moon of Chait on a level piece of land some way below the peak of the bare rocky hill at whose foot the village stands. Some natural hollows in the rock which hold water are dignified by the name of bowli, and a fragment, looking remarkably like a portion of a Sati pillar, is smeared with vermillion and receives the worship of pilgrims under the name of Khalári Mátá. The fair lasts one day. Legend says that Khalári Mátá often assumes a female human form and goes to the adjacent fairs, carrying vegetables for sale; whoever asks any gift from her receives it.

A villager relates that, when he was a young man, he was one day returning home at dusk from an adjacent fair, when a strange woman overtook him on the road, and would have passed on leaving him behind if he had not quickened his pace to keep up with her. Asking her where she was going, she said she was going to Khopra to her sister. When it became quite dark, the woman desired him to go forward and she would come on behind; the man went on, thinking she would soon follow him, he meanwhile going slowly to allow her to come up, not wishing to leave a beautiful young woman to travel alone at night. As she did not come, he hid himself among the bushes to see what she was about; presently he heard a great jingling noise, and saw a four-armed female go straight up the steep bare hill and disappear; the young woman was no other than Khalári Mátá herself!

KHOPRÁ.

Khoprá is a small dome-shaped bare rock about a mile and half or two miles east of Khalári. The sister of Khalári Mátá

is said to live there; her name is Khoprá. A small village exists at its foot.

There are some noble tamarind and other trees about Khalári. Two tanks close to each other at the north end about half a mile from the village, and one to the south-east, furnish water for the use of the inhabitants. A few fragments of pillars, some elaborately sculptured, lie in the village, and a few Sati pillars are to be met with in the scrub jangal about the village and to its north-west, where there is a large embanked tank, the embankment being protected by large stones set dry on each other, and forming steps down to the water; it is now out of repair, and the stone steps are in parts quite above the water-level; but it must originally have been a fine sheet of water. Close to the tank are several Sati pillars and a lingam, shewing that one or more temples once stood here.

The plans, drawings and photographs of the Khalari temple furnish complete information regarding its architecture.

MAHÁSAMAND.

At Mahásamand, ten miles north-west of Khalari, are two temples; they are built of coarse granite and laterite, face east, and are Saivic; they are of the usual pattern, one being provided with a mandapa in tolerable order, the other being smaller with a ruined portico; the cells have tower roofs of the usual style. A few fragments, chiefly of Ganeça, lie scattered in and about the village. The temples are built without mortar in a plain massive style, the architraves being particularly heavy. A large tank, now greatly filled up, is situated close to the village, which derives its name from it in all probability. There are no traditions and no inscriptions to shew the age of the temples, but from their style I do not think they can date to beyond the latter end of the fourteenth century. The road, lying over gravelly country, is very fair.

ARANG.

Arang is a large important town in the Ráyapura district, 24 miles from Ráyapura; it must once have been a place of greater importance and greater extent than now. Here are several old temples and tanks, and the remains of what may have been a fort. The old city was probably not less than three miles long; the present one is about one mile

and a half from the Mahánadi; the old city probably extended to the river.

To the north and north-east of the present city are numerous foundations of brick buildings whence bricks and stones are to this day extracted, and so extensive are these old quarries of bricks, that I do not remember seeing a single house in Arang that had been built of any but these old materials, both brick and stone; the quarries, however, are far from having been exhausted. I saw several diggings going on during my visit, but nothing interesting appears to have turned up, nor did I hear of any coins found in the ruins; coins of ancient period are very scarce indeed in these parts; I did not come upon a single one that dated beyond the Maharatta period. To this day cowries principally are used as currency, and although in towns copper pice is accepted in the district, copper currency is absolutely refused. This state of things begins from Wyragarh, and continues throughout eastwards as far as I travelled. Silver currency, both rupees and small change, are current, however, in towns as well as in villages.

There are three principal temples, one at the extreme west end of and beyond the present city, situated close to a large embanked tank; this temple is evidently a modern restoration with extensive alterations of an older temple; the temple is surrounded by a court-yard in which are numerous fragments From these I conclude that the present plain clumsy temple was once an elegant structure, adorned with sculpture; its great central tower then rose surrounded and supported by a group of smaller towers attached to and abutting against it as in the great towers of the Khajuráhá temples. In this temple is a loose inscribed slab, much worn, set flat to serve as a seat in the bench round the mandapa, which is of the style of the mandapas at Wyragarh and Umrer. The temple is dedicated to Devi (Párvati). The inscription is much worn, and will not therefore probably yield very valuable information, but it is old, and its characters are similar to those of the old inscriptions of Rájam, and deserves examination.

The next temple is known as Bhand dewal, from the naked and indecent figures adorning it outside and enshrined inside. This is a lofty and very graceful temple, although much dilapidated; it faces west; it has lost its mandapa and portico, and the front face of the tower has been extensively repaired, and now presents a vertical and perfectly

plain surface of white-washed plaster. A great part of the north-east and south-east portions of the tower have also been destroyed and re-built rudely of brick and mortar; but notwithstanding these drawbacks, its tower, seen on the side on which it is yet entire, is singularly graceful in outline. The temple, I was told, was used as a survey station, and to this it owes its preservation. The sides of the tower which shewed a tendency to split open are held together by a broad iron strap going completely round the tower about the middle of its upper portion.

Externally, the temple is richly carved and adorned with a profusion of sculptured statues, many of them highly indecent. The larger figures are in two rows, surmounted by another smaller row of figures, while the whole of the mouldings below is richly sculptured into scrolls, flowers, and processions of horses, elephants and men. Above the line of large statues the principal faces of the tower rise up in tier on tier of sculptured figures, while the intervening quadrants of angular projections rise up in a series of semi-attached towers tier on tier, richly carved, resembling, but richer than, the similar arrangement in the temple at Mahoba, the whole crowned by a massive bold corrugated cap, conventionally known, I believe, as the amalaka. In front a platform has been built at the level of the sill of the doorway, which is at a level considerably higher than the ground outside; the cell, however, is much lower than the entrance sill, and one has to descend into it by three steep steps The cell is properly a double cell, consisting of the cell proper, situated centrically in regard to the tower, and the antarâla, which is marked off from the cell by pilasters projecting from either wall on the sides; they are both at the same level. The figures inside consist of three colossal naked figures in polished black stone in an elaborately ornamented frame; the central statue has the wheel symbol with two antelopes, the left-hand figure has an antelope, and the right a ball and a winged figure, as symbols, on the pedestal. The roof of the cell consists of concentric overlapping fretted circles richly carved, with four graceful female figures rising up from projecting corbels at the springing line, and supporting the apex of the dome, from which hangs a graceful pendant. The antarâla is roofed by flat intersecting squares. The pillars and pilasters inside are plain rectangular ones with indented corners, ornamented at the lower part by boldly sculptured projecting female figures. The height of the pillars is broken by interposed blocks

dividing it into two equal portions; the capital is, like the pillars, plain, but enriched with numerous mouldings; the architraves and friezes, however, are richly sculptured, and harmonises with the richly-carved and fretted dome above.

It is impossible by description to convey so complete an idea of the temple as is desirable; this, however, will be effected by the plans, profiles and photographs of the temple.

It is evident that the temple was a complete one once, consisting of the five parts or divisions, though only two now remain; it is situated on a gently rising mound, which still, on digging, is said to yield bricks, but not in abundance.

No inscriptions exist nor any traditions beyond this, of the temple having been built by the Hayhayas; a few masons' marks exist, however, and are in the Kutilá characters; the temple therefore dates to the same period as the temples at Khajuráhá, a conclusion which may have been arrived at from the style of the temple belonging evidently to a flourishing period of art in Central India, and from the obscenity of the sculptures.

Close to the back of the temple are several fragments and remains, shewing that a small temple existed there. This, from the fragments, appears to have been also either Jain or Buddhist.

It is said that this temple of Arang, and a similar one at Deobáluda to the west of Râyapura, were built at the same time by the same mason under orders from one King who held both places. When the two were finished, as they were simultaneously, and the Kalas had to be put on, the mason and his sister agreed to put them on simultaneously, one on each temple, at an auspicious moment. The day and hour being fixed by Brahmans, the two, stripping themselves naked, according to the custom on such occasions, climbed up to the top; as they got to the top each could see the other, and each through shame jumped down into the tank close to the respective temples, the brother here, the sister at Deobláuda, where they still stand turned into stone, and are visible when the tank water falls low in seasons of drought. I was told I could not see them at the time I was there, as the water had not gone down low enough.

About half a mile to the east of this temple is another known as the Bágh Dewal, this temple is very remarkable. The temple itself as it stands at present is a modern restoration, clumsily carried out, of a fine old large but plain temple; it is a complete temple with all its parts, and in plan approaches to the Khajuráhá temple, though not so rich in

projections and play of light and shade. I was not allowed to go inside, but it appears quite plain; the outside is likewise quite plain. The material is cut granite. The temple, though I have called it large, is so only in comparison with the usual run of temples in this part of India; it is really very small; it faces east; it is Saivic.

The temple is situated within a square court-yard surrounded on all sides by a colonnade, the clear space within the colonnade being 45 feet square. The colonnade consists of a row of pillars running round the square, backed by a row of pilasters abutting against a back wall, the arrangement being precisely like the arrangement of the remarkable colonnade round the temple at Bherághat, with only this difference, that the inclosure, and consequently the colonnade there is circular, while it is square here. It does not appear that a row of statues ran along the back of the colonnade as at Bherághat; at any rate no traces of such a line of statues are now to be found, although fragments of statues are not wanting in the courtyard. The width of the colonnade is 8 feet; the pillars are plain square pillars, with the corners chamfered off in the lower, and fluted in the upper, portion for more than half the height of the pillars; the capitals are plain, with plain mouldings, and are surmounted by the usual corbelled capitals; the roof is flat, with a bold projecting eave as at Bherághat, but here quite plain. The whole of the pillars now standing are in their original positions. The back wall, which, from the rough backs of the row of pilasters, I infer to have been continuous, was once broken through in parts, and has been subsequently replaced by mud walls. The exterior of the inclosure had, as ornamental mouldings, one plain band at about the middle of its height, one at bottom at the level of the bases of the pillars inside, and one at the top near the roof. The ground outside was considerably lower than the level of the courtyard within, and the wall below the bottom of the lowest moulding was carried down in plain stepped courses to the ground level. There is only one entrance to the courtyard; it is in the centre of the east side. The entrance is provided with a portico which projects about 20 feet on the outside beyond the line of walls of inclosure, and appears to occupy the position of the original old entrance. I could see no traces of any other entrances, and conclude therefore that the present arrangement of the inclosure and its colonnade and entrance is not materially different to the original arrangement.

The temple inside is at present clearly Saivic, but it is a question whether the original temple was Saivic. On the one hand is the evidence of what it actually is now; on the other, the numerous Jain remains found in the city, and the actually existing Jain temple, make it by no means improbable that it was a Jain or Buddhist Vihara. The arrangement of a courtyard with a surrounding colonnade round a central shrine is a very unusual arrangement in Northern and Central India for a Hindu temple, and General Cunningham considers on strong grounds the Bherághat temple, which has such an arrangement, to have been originally a Buddhist temple; true that is circular and this is square, but the principle is the same On this ground, then, and further remembering that many *Jain* temples in Rajputana have similar courtyards with colonnades and cells, the probabilities are strongly in favor of a Jain or Buddhist origin for this temple; but it must not be forgotten that, although a rare arrangement, there are not wanting instances of undoubtedly Brahmanic temples with such or similar arrangement of a colonnade round a central shrine. On the whole, the preponderance of Jain over Brahmanical remains in the city, added to the probability of a Jain origin to the temple from its plan, makes me incline to the supposition that the temple was a Jain or, perhaps, Buddhist one. subsequently converted into a Hindu shrine.

It has been seen that Buddhism flourished at Rájam, but that a Vaishnavic temple was erected there by a reigning family in the 9th century of the Kalachuri Samvat. Here the evidence of the Bhand dewal shews that as late as the 1˙ th century of the Vikrama Samvat, Jainism flourished; what can be the explanation of this circumstance? Are we to consider the 9th century of the Kalachuri era to correspond to a period later than the 11th century of the Vikrama Samvat? Or are we to suppose the Brahmanical religion patronised in the earlier periods of its introduction by only some of the Kings, and not by all, so that Buddhism or Jainism continued for a long time to share the royal patronage alternately with Brahmanism? The old inscriptions at Rájam and here may throw light on the subject

Besides the temples already noticed in Arang, there are several modern ones of no special interest. Numerous ruins yielding bricks and stone have already been noticed; it only remains to notice the tanks which, though not large, are tolerably numerous but confined to the extreme south end of the city and a few at the north-west and north-east ends.

The cut stone dug up at Arang are of three kinds: one a granite, coarse-grained, and two varieties of sandstone, grey and pink.

I have already observed, while noticing the statues in the Nagpur Museum, that the colossal Jain ones, highly polished, were probably carried from here. Their inscriptions certainly offer no difficulty chronologically to this supposition, for they are all subsequent to the 9th century, and the existing Jain temple here, the Bhand dewal, does not claim a higher antiquity.

RÁYAPURA.

Ráyapura is the present head-quarters of the eastern circle of the Central Provinces, and appears to have been a place of some importance for some four hundred years Its antiquity cannot, however, I believe, date back to much beyond the 14th century, the earliest inscription which can be authenticated, as having been found in Ráyapura itself, dating only to 1458 Samvat. I cannot find on what authority the Gazetteer says that a branch of the Ratanpur King's family established itself at Raipur in the beginning of the 9th century; this statement is certainly not borne out by any archæological remains in or about the city, nor indeed is there anything in Ratanpur itself (as will subsequently be seen) to shew even that city to be a place of great antiquity.

The fort is acknowledged to be the most ancient structure in Ráyapura. Within the fort are numerous temples; some of these, though of little interest, may be worth noticing if merely for their negative value:

First, a large temple with two tower roofs, one taller than the other, close to the eastern ramparts of the fort; it is built of brick and stone set in mortar and plastered; it appears as if built of older materials. The temple has two distinct cells opening into a common mandapa; the large one is probably sacred to Siva; a nandi stands opposite its entrance; the smaller one is Vaishnavic, Lakshmi and Vishnu on Garud, and a statue of Aditya occupying the sanctum, the doorway having a figure of Vishnu on Garud on its top lintel. The arrangement, neither of cells nor of the mandapa, nor of its pillars, is either graceful or symmetrical; the whole has a patch-work appearance which strongly savours of the Maharatta period. It is probable the Maharattas repaired a temple already existing, which itself could not date beyond the period when the fort was built, *i. e.*, A. D. 1460, according

to the Gazetteer, the older materials themselves being coarse in execution, and clearly not of the period of the bright days of Indian art.

Second, a temple known as Bhawáni-ki-mandir to north-west of the last. This temple consists of a sanctum, antarala, a mandapa and portico. The sanctum was closed, so I could not see the figure inside. The antarala has a doorway which was closed. There are some fragments of sculpture representing a chain of twisted nagas or naginis let into the sides of the doorway. The pillars of the mandapa are finely sculptured. The temple is built of brick and stone set in mortar and thickly plastered. The pillars of the mandapa are certainly older than the present temple, as are also the fragments of sculpture.

This temple is generally considered the oldest in the fort; probably it stands on the site of the oldest temple, and is built of its materials. The execution of the older sculpture used in the temple is good, and I have no hesitation in conceding to the original of this temple the palm of greatest antiquity among the temples in the fort; it cannot, however, date back beyond 1460. The present temple, I need hardly add, is a patch-work building of very little pretensions to beauty, however holy it may be.

These two specimens of temples, considered the oldest in Ráyapura, will, I think, be enough. The temples of Ráyapura are to be counted by the score, they are so numerous, but all of much the same type, and all equally undeserving of detailed description. While, however, I have thus summarily disposed of the Ráyapura temples, its tanks, which are another of its great features, are so well noticed in the Gazetteer as to leave me little to add. I must not, however, omit to notice the last and yet unfinished temple at the extreme west end of Ráyapura, situated about a mile beyond the farthest limit of the city; this temple is known as the Dudhádhári Math, and as an instance of elaborate carving is probably unrivalled in the Central Provinces among structures of the present day. The temple, I believe, possesses the portico, the mahamandapa, the antarala and the sanctum; it has, however, only three spires,—one over the portico, one over the mahamandapa, and one over the sanctum,—so that it is possible the antarala may be wanting. It is a great pity that this beautiful temple is disfigured by sculpture of the most indecent type, executed in stucco on the exterior, and alone, of all other sculptures, as if especially to attract attention, gaudily

colored. Altogether this temple is one that is well worth a visit and study by such as being orthodox Hindus are allowed to approach it. I was only allowed to see it from a distance, so that even my shadow or the wind blowing past me should not pollute the temple; at the same time I must record the otherwise courteous behaviour of the mendicant Brahmans in charge of the place.

In the courtyard of the temple are gathered a number of fragments, said to have been brought from Sirpur; these fragments are of special interest; they are well executed, and prove that Buddhism and Jainism flourished in Sirpur. At present, Sirpur has been so denuded of every sculptured stone that was worth carrying away, that it is necessary to examine carefully, not so much what is still there, as what has been brought away from there, if we would form a correct opinion of the religions that flourished there, and of the state of art that prevailed there. Unfortunately, while at Ráyapura, I was unaware of the importance of these figures as illustrations of the sculpture of Sirpur, thinking naturally that I should find quite enough and better at the spot; but when on going there I found the place almost denuded of sculpture, I regretted extremely not taking photographs of the statues here. I mention this in hope that in future, photographers, amateur or professional, going to Ráyapura may be induced to photograph the sculptures which I left uncopied. Some of the figures are Vaishnavic; I do not remember any Saivic ones among the group.

As the temple which is being built is Vaishnavic, the Brahmans would naturally not bring Saivic statues; their bringing away Buddhist statues is merely due to ignorance.

The Museum at Ráyapura contains a few inscriptions; two of these are from Sirpur; one on a slab 3 feet long is in tolerable preservation; it appears to me to open with a Saivic invocation; the characters are similar to those of the oldest inscriptions of Rájam and of Arang. The other inscription is much worn, and is besides broken off at the upper right-hand corner; its characters are similar to those of the larger inscription. The blank space below the inscription in the larger slab is covered with a few large characters, which shew a tendency to run into the shell pattern.

The third inscription is on a Sati pillar from Simgá; it is now worn quite smooth; the pillar, however, is curious and not inelegant; it is profusely carved. I give a drawing of it to scale.

A pillar from Sirpur with a curious bell-shaped capital, or rather neck, below the capital, is well deserving of attention. It is elegant in shape, taller in proportion to its diameter than is usual with Hindu pillars of the period to which most of the great existing temples belong, and is highly ornamented with fluting and profuse carving. This pillar came, as I subsequently ascertained, from the largest mound, the remains of the largest temple of Sirpur; from its style I should ascribe it to a very early period, but I will revert to the subject when noticing the remains at Sirpur.

Subjoined is a list of places near Ráyapura said to contain antiquities, which I obtained through the kindness of Mr. Fisher, the Deputy Commissioner, and Messrs. Hexter and Law of Ráyapura. I could not visit them, but a record of them may not be useless:—

Kura, 12 miles from Ráyapura and 13 from Simgá, contains five or six temples; one of them, the Deputy Commissioner tells me, has *its roof covered with Nagari characters*
Tarenga, on the Seonath River near Simgá, 4 miles from Nándghát on the Bilaspur road.
Simgá.
Deokhut.
Chanderi.
The Jittáni Deráni temple on the Bilaspur road
Khamtarai on the Bilaspur road.
Kumhári on the Drug Road, on the Kumhári River, here are said to be some mounds and a temple similar to the Arang one, but much smaller
Drug itself.
Deorbijá
Deokur
Deobáloda
Belái.

About half-way between Ráyapura and Drug are a few temples on the banks of a tank by the roadside; these temples are modern, not dating beyond the Maharatta period, and of no interest

SIRPUR.

Sirpur is now a small village on the right bank of the Mahánadi, east-north-east of Ráypur. Extensive ruins cover the ground for about two square miles; but the principal ones are all within a mile. The ancient name of the place is said to be Savaripura, from the female mendicant Savari, mentioned in the Rámáyana, but there are no legends regarding her.

Of the existing remains, the most noticeable, as being still in fair order and not deserted, is a stone temple imme-

diately on the banks of the river. This temple consists of a cell, antarála, a long mahamandapa and a portico. The whole appears to be a restoration of a former structure, and it is not even pretended by the Pujáris to be ancient, but merely to stand on an ancient site. The pillars are elegant, but not all alike, they are loftier than usual, and the temple, as a whole, does not look amiss from a distance. The river front is defended by strong stone revetments, now falling to pieces. Numerous sculptures, all, however, in fragments, are collected here, and either placed in a heap in the court yard, or stuck into the walls without any order or regularity; among them I recognised one of Aditya, and one which, from the Buddhist symbol employed, must have been Buddhist. There are also a great many lingams collected; one, the largest, is set up on a high mound in the courtyard, the others are ranged round it on the floor, their relative ranks being determined by their sizes. The temple is Saivic and the presiding deity is known as Gandheswar, but why he is so called, or what the origin of the name may be, I could not elicit; probably the ministering Brahmans do not themselves know. Pilgrims are fed here free of cost, the chief mahant making it a point to let none pass unfed. He was absent on a begging expedition, and I greatly regretted his absence, as from the intelligence and frankness of his pupils, and his own fame, I conclude he must be really a remarkable man. He is said to expend all his earnings in feeding the pilgrims and keeping the temple in repair. His pupils, on my pressing them with questions, frankly confessed that they were very ignorant, and did not understand themselves the meaning and origin of names and ceremonies, but, said they, with exquisite naivete (I was alone then) "we must pretend to know every thing if we would preserve our position in the eyes of the people."

Architecturally the temple is of no interest. There are, however, three inscriptions let into the floor and walls of the temple, in the characters of the most ancient inscriptions of Rájam, which, though incomplete (every one of them being broken), may yet yield results of interest.

Of the three inscriptions, one is buried under the pillar of the portico, a portion only projecting out beyond and allowing of being copied; two others are let into the side wall, or rather into the seat of the side benches, and placed so as to look like fragments of one inscription, but they are really distinct. One of these slabs, although broken, has the writing complete, as it begins with an invocation to Sivá; the other is incomplete.

Besides these there is a loose slab written in the same characters, but broken off in a slanting direction.

In none of them could I detect any date, but they contain plenty of names, apparently a genealogy of a line of kings. The names appear strange to me, but I have not sufficient confidence in my reading to insert a list.

There is an old fort, or kila as it is called, close to the temple, and to its east. It is a slight inclosure of stone, about 500 feet square. Close to it are the remains of a Jain temple, as attested by a votive Chaitya with four naked Jain figures on the four faces. There are besides the remains of several smaller temples.

Near the west entrance of the inclosure are a few fragments, the principal one of which is a figure of Durga slaying the buffalo demon. There are also a number of fragments, apparently Brahmanical, under a large pipal tree near the Gandheswar temple. It is not improbable that the inclosure noticed above was a Jain vihár; the only difficulty is its close proximity to the Gandheswar temple, which I was assured was built on a site which, on digging, yielded a great many lingams. This statement, from the circumstance of numerous lingams still being there, which it is improbable were brought from a distance, I take to be correct in the main.

Outside the kila, and almost touching it, is a smaller inclosure of cut stone, which also appears to me to mark a Jaina shrine; only traces of walls now remain.

There is a larger inclosure about a mile to south-east of this inclosure; it is a rectangle of about 1,200 feet long by 800 feet wide, not strong, the walls being weak and slight in build; they are of rubble, set dry; the stone here used universally for rubble work appears to be a compact clay slate of dark hue, but sometimes also yellowish; they are all in slabs of about the thickness of bricks, and with remarkably even beds; it is used in oblong pieces of about 18 inches long, or somewhat more, and irregular width, or in widths of about 10 inches and irregular length; they are used precisely like bricks, laid in even horizontal courses, breaking joint and preserving bond, but entirely without cement of any kind; larger pieces are also often used, their thickness is the same, so that each course is perfectly even: the stone slabs are set with great care, and so close as to surpass good brickwork of the present day, the edges are carefully trimmed with the hammer, so that the face of the wall is perfectly

even, and the whole presents the appearance of very good brickwork walls. This description applies throughout to all structures which I shall call, or have called, rubble work, in Sirpur, except where specially mentioned otherwise. The walls of the fort, however, have irregular masses of rubble in addition, probably due to subsequent repair, and are not so regularly built as described above.

The inclosure—it cannot properly be called a fort—stands on the southern edge of a large tank, the length of the fort itself being north and south. The tank is an oblong of the width of the fort, but less in length than the fort. It was once a fine sheet of water; an embankment runs along the west and north sides; it is however much filled up now. There are remains of stone ghâts here and there, and fragments of sculpture on the embankment. A female devotee has taken up her quarters on the embankment of this tank and built huts for herself. Round these huts and within the courtyard are collected the fragments of sculpture; they were, I believe, brought from the temples in the vicinity, as no temples appear to have stood on the embankment itself, which is not wide enough for the purpose; a single cell may have stood at the principal ghât. The fragments are all Brahmanical, both Vaishnavic and Saivic. The tank is named Ráyakherá tal. There is a legend which says that in ancient times there were placed in the tank six ágars and six koris of earthen pots full of gold; on the occasion of a great drought the tank dried down so low as to expose a portion of the treasure, whereupon the whole array of earthen pots rushed away from the tank into the Mahánadi, tearing through the ground in their impetuous rush the little nala which now, rising in the tank, falls with many windings into the Mahánadi just below Sirpur. The treasure jars, however, finding the water in the river itself low, and unable to conceal them, rushed down its bed to the Paisar Dhárá, which is a deep reach of the river formed at the junction of the three rivers, the Mahánadi, the Seonath and the Nilagar rivers, the deep water being below the junction of the Seonath. There they are to this day. An ágar, I was told, meant 500, the kori, as well known, means 20: there were consequently 3,120 jars of treasure which that unlucky drought caused to run away into the abyss of the Seonath. Oh! the look of intense hopeless regret with which the inhabitants, too poor to have ever even seen a gold coin (many have not seen anything more valuable than shells, which is their currency) relate this legend!

About quarter of a mile from the tank along this rivuler and on its banks, are a group of several temples, all ruined. The temples were all built on hollow cell foundations; as the temples in this place are universally so built, I will once for all describe in detail the cell foundations before proceeding further.

A number of longitudinal walls connected transversely by cross walls well bonded in are built up from some depth below the general ground level to a certain height above, depending principally on the size of the temple to be erected; these walls are in ordinary cases narrow, but in the larger temples are proportionately thicker, while in the grand temple to be hereafter described, which stood on a basement 35 feet high, they are over 4 feet thick. The transverse walls connecting the longitudinal ones are so spaced as to leave oblong chambers whose length is twice or slightly more than twice their breadth; the length and breadth of the chambers vary according to circumstances; when nearly up to the required height at which the basement or floor of the temple is intended to be, the spaces between the longitudinal walls are made to diminish by corbelling out, till the space left becomes so small as to be conveniently spanned by thick strong slabs, of which, in ordinary cases, one layer is considered enough; the whole is entirely without cement of any kind, the walls being built exclusively of rubble in even layers as before described; at the requisite level the whole being covered with slabs so as to make a level terrace, the walls of the temple are commenced, the building then proceeds in ordinary course.

I have already noticed the extraordinary care with which the layers of stone composing the rubble walls are laid and their faces made even, the consequence of this is that when, as in many of the temples, not only the temple but its floor has also disapppeared, there stand these walls of beautiful workmanship in exquisitely regular order, and with faces as perfectly even as the best ordinary brickwork, forming halls and chambers of confined dimensions but entirely without any means of communication between each other or with the external world except through the roof, and visitors are of course intensely puzzled. At Ráyapura, the subterranean chambers of Sirpur were universally looked upon as very extraordinary and puzzling, and so they must be till we understand that they really are only the foundations; it is a great pity that they are so puzzling at first sight, for the

finest temple in the place owes its total destruction to it; Mr. Chisholm, then a civil officer of Ráyapura, having, it is said, accidentally seen one of these cells in the large mound (nearly 40 feet high) of the greatest temple here, determined with very laudable, but in this instance very unfortunate, zeal to get to the bottom of the mystery, and for two months, say the villagers, they worked at the mound, laying open the subterranean chambers, which naturally enough began to become more and more puzzling as their immense extent began to be realized, till the whole of the superstructure of the temple, which would have been of immense value to archæology had got effectually cleared away, leaving the mystery of the subterranean chambers as far from solution as ever. Finally, funds ran short and the work was stopped.

To revert to the description of the temple on the nala: it is, or was (for now scarcely anything of the temple exists but the foundations) built on cell foundations; the temple was of a large size, and was evidently complete; it faced west; the mahamandapa was adorned in a unique way, by having bold alto-relievo figures nearly life-size ranged along the walls, forming a court of deities; the figures were of the Bheraghat type, and remains of three females, seated on singhasans of the size and style of the Bheraghat statues, still exist; these were, of course, much less in number here than in the great external colonnade at Bheraghat, as the mandapa of a temple could never be large enough to hold 84 figures of the size of those at Bheraghat, but there certainly may have been 10 of them; one of the fragments, besides the three mentioned, represents a twenty-armed female; nine of the arms on one side still exist, and the stump of the tenth; on the other side, eight exist, most of them more or less mutilated; the principal hands hold and expose a yoni as symbol; on the pedestal of another the yoni is again sculptured, as on the pedestal of the "Kumudi" female figure at Bheraghat. The temple, therefore, to which these sculptures belong, I take to have been Saivic, for, although in the matter of decency Saiva and Vaishnava temples are on a par, the use of the yoni in its indecent undisguised state as a symbol I have never yet met in a Vaishnavic temple; disguised in various ways, it forms as important a symbol of Vaishnavic deities as of Saivic; in proof whereof some of the representations of the first two incarnations of Vishnu may be studied. There are remains of minor temples close by also, but of no particular interest.

On the other side of the nala is a temple, the floors of which were, it is said, wantonly dug up by a wine distiller in search of treasure; about 100 feet to the east of it are remains of some others similarly dug up.

The great mass of temples, however, are situated to the west and south-west of the large tank, Rayakhera tal, these I now describe beginning at the east end and going westwards :—

(1). Ruins of a temple facing east. The temple was a simple square of about 15 feet, with a small projecting portico built on cell foundations; the temple is now completely destroyed to the foundation cells; a fragment of sculpture representing Vishnu on Garud shews it to have been Vaishnavic; several other nondescript fragments lie about; a remarkable one is a female standing on a prostrate grotesque figure, precisely like the sculptures on the Buddhist pillars obtained at Mathura by General Cunningham; in this instance, however, the pillar or pilaster on whose front face the figure is sculptured in bold relief appears to have formed one of the pilasters supporting the roof of the mandapa; there are no traces of any elliptical or any other kind of rail holes at the sides; the pilaster resembles closely similar ones noticed at Rájam, with this difference only, that whereas one at least of the sculptures there was clearly Buddhist, this shews no traces of Buddhism, and from its position in a Brahmanical temple it could not possibly have been Buddhist.

(2). Fifty feet to the south is another temple below the present ground level, the temple, however, having originally been on a mound; the sanctum is almost entire, but choked with rubbish; the temple was of brick picked with stone, the stone used being of three kinds, *viz*, (1) a purple stone, similar to the material of the Rájam sculptured pillars, (2) sandstone of grey color, (3) hard clay stone with conchoidal fracture,—a flinty clay stone. I could not ascertain whether the temple was Vaishnava or Saiva.

(3). Two hundred feet to south-west of this was another temple larger than the last; this temple was also built on cell foundations slabbed over with large slabs; the temple faced east; the temple was situated on a mound about 10 feet high; the temple was of brick and faced east; the foundations both of this and of the last appear to have been of brick; this temple like the last was picked with stone.

(4). Thirty feet to the south-east of this are the ruins of a small temple.

(5.) One hundred feet to the west of No. 3 is a large mound, evidently the ruin of a large temple; it was of brick picked with stone, the pillars, door-posts, lintels, &c., being of stone; the architrave, or top lintels, of the entrance into the sanctum still exists *in situ*, broken in the middle; several pillars of the mahamandapa are also still *in situ*; the architrave above noticed is very curiously sculptured; at the outer extremities are two lions' heads, the bodies being attenuated and prolonged into wavy lines, ending in a magar's head; the design accordingly shews a lion and a magar with a common wavy body; the lion is surmounted by a smaller lion, the magar by a man holding a festoon, the ends of the festoon enter the mouth of the lion; the whole design is very bold and free and the execution remarkably good; the whole represents a long flowered wavy scroll; under the central wave is a human figure apparently supporting on his hands the centre arch of the convolution; unfortunately this portion of the sculpture is mutilated, but I am inclined to consider it intended to represent Garud bearing Vishnu; other figures on either side of the central one and seated on the depending waves of the scroll hold festoons; on the under part of the architrave is sculptured a single small lotus.

The jambs or pilasters supporting the architrave are also profusely sculptured; the front represents a female leaning against a pillar which, thinner than herself, rises up behind her and is crowned by a capital, and bracket capital; the idea conveyed by this pillar is clearly that of a wooden pillar or post; the inner jambs of the pilasters or side pillars of the entrance are sculptured into a half medallion on top, a full medallion in the middle, and by inference (for it is buried) a half medallion below, connected together by scroll work of exquisite freedom of design; the sculptured faces are all much weather-worn, the stone being a soft grey sandstone.

A pilaster which clearly formed one of the pilasters supporting the roof of the mahamandapa lies prostrate; on its face is sculptured a female standing on a grotesque human figure like the pillars found at Mathura; the female is standing with her head turned somewhat away in a charming attitude; over her head is a chhata or royal umbrella; the hair of the female is formed into a huge chignon behind; over the chhata is Nandi bearing Siva and Pârvati, thus clearly establishing the Brahmanical and Saivic character of the pilaster; the occurrence of Siva in a subordinate pilaster goes to establish the Vaishnava character of the temple; the temple faced west.

(6.) To the north of this, and touching it, is another large mound, the ruins of a temple equally large and similarly built; this temple appears to have been dedicated to Indra, a very rare circumstance, this being the only instance I have seen of a large temple expressly dedicated to Indra. I infer this from the figure in the centre of the architrave over the entrance of the sanctum, which represents a seated figure holding the Vajra; the close proximity of this temple to an undoubtedly Brahmanical one renders it improbable that it was Buddhist, and the seated figure Vajra Pani, even if, at the early age when these temples were built, Vajra Pani were an object of worship; and the improbability is confirmed into an impossibility when, among the subordinate figures, is found what appears to be Buddha himself. On the other side of the central figure are fabulous animals with festoons depending from their mouths; the jambs of the supporting pillars are sculptured similarly to those in temple No. 6, but are in somewhat better preservation.

The fronts of the supporting pillars of the architrave are sculptured into females with the royal chhata overhead.

A broken architrave of this temple represents a figure seated cross-legged in the centre, with the hands at the breast in the position Buddha is generally represented when seated; he has a lance or Vajra at his side and resting against his left shoulder. There are three attendants on each side, followed by cross-legged seated figures one on each side; one hand of these figures rests on the knee, the other rests on something which I cannot make out; each has a male attendant; an armed female with drawn sword forms the last figure in the composition at either end.

On another prostrate architrave is sculptured Vishnu with the lotus issuing from his navel, and supporting figures, a composition similar to those noticed in the exquisite sculptures at Rájam, but here neither so carefully and elaborately done, nor so large in size.

This temple, accordingly I consider as dedicated to Indra, and the occurrence of Vishnu and Buddha (for I take the second architrave to represent Buddha, or at least a Buddhist legend) on the architraves other than that of the sanctum, and therefore subordinate, as confirmations of the correctness of my assignment of the temple to Indra.

The mound on which this temple was placed is longer than that of No. 5; there are numerous other fragments, but far too mutilated to be of interest.

(7.) A small temple facing the temple No. 5, and close to it, to its west, and probably subordinate to it.

All these temples were on cell foundations, and of brick picked with stone.

The worship of Indra as a distinct and principal deity has long been extinct, but we know from Hindu religious books that Indra was in ancient times a very important deity, and Vishnu and Indra are associated with him in the hymns of the Rig Veda. Here accordingly our finding their temples side by side is not only not an anomaly, but a strong confirmation of the great antiquity of the temples, and supported as this inference is by the inscriptions, one of which in characters of the second century at latest (the larger one in the Raypur Museum taken from here) opens with an invocation to Naráyana, we cannot ascribe to some of these temples a lesser antiquity than about 1,400 years, *i. e.*, to about the 5th century A. D.; but while thus ascribing to the Vaishnavic temples this great antiquity, the claims of the Saivic ones to an equal antiquity must not be ignored, as the characters used in the Saiva inscriptions appear quite as ancient as the Vaisnava ones.

But an inscription in similar characters at Rájam is, as noticed before, dated in 879 of some era. If this era be taken as the Vikramâditya era, the forms of the letters appear too ancient to agree with the written date; besides this, I think it is pretty well admitted that the worship of Indra had then long been extinct. I have shewn the strong probability that the Vaishnava inscription of Sirpur dates to a period when the worship of Indra was not extinct, and as this time was long anterior to the 9th century of the Samvat era, and as the dated inscription of Rájam agrees with the Vaishnava inscription in the forms of the letters, and disagrees with the written date of 879, if referred to the Vikrama era, the inference appears probable that the era in which the date is expressed in the Rájam plate is more ancient than the Vikrama era.

My object being to get at the truth rather than to support any preconceived theory, I think a summary of my argument may be useful. I will arrange them under the headings of facts and assumptions.

Facts.—That two inscriptions from Rájam dated 879 and

896 are engraved in widely different characters.

That the former inscription is in much older characters.

That the latter is dated in the Kalachuri Samvat

That the characters of the latter inscription are similar to those of the Seorinaráyan dated inscription.

That the Seorinaráyan inscriptions are dated in Chedi Samvat 979, and Kalachuri Samvat 898.

That these and the later Rájam inscription are written in characters similar to those generally found in inscriptions of the 9th century Vikrama and downwards.

That the Sirpur inscriptions are similar in character to the ancient Rájam one.

That in Sirpur is a temple to Indra.

That the constructive details and the sculptures of the greater portion of the Sirpur temples are similar in every respect to those of the temple of Indra there.

Assumptions.—That the more ancient characters of the Rájam and Sirpur inscriptions had ceased to be used in the 9th century Vikrama.

That the more recent characters were not in use in the 5th century A. D.

That the worship of Indra and the erection of temples to him had ceased previous to the 6th century of Vikrama Samvat.

That the inscriptions of Sirpur are as old as the temples there.

From a combination of various terms of the facts and assumptions the inferences drawn are—

That the date in the older Rájam inscription is in an era anterior to the Vikrama Samvat.

That the Kalachuri and the Chedi Samvats are widely separated from the other in time, and are also distinct from each other and from the Vikrama Samvat and Saka eras, though not by so great amount.

That many of the other temples of Sirpur were built at about the same time as the temple to Indra there.

That the temples of Sirpur, as a whole, date to the 5th century A. D. at least.

That the Rájam temples which originally enshrined its older inscriptions, also date to, or prior to, the 5th century A. D.

That the original (not present) Vaishnava temples of Rájam date only to about the 9th century.

There are, of course, various other inferences to be drawn,

and some have been already noted elsewhere; but here I confine myself to the principal ones, especially to those which involve dates.

Resuming now the description of the ruins, No. 8 was a small temple touching No. 7 on its north side; this temple was Vaishnavic as evidenced by a broken architrave with Vishnu and the lotus issuing from his navel sculptured thereon. There are several pilasters, two of which, tolerably entire, shew the fronts sculptured into females standing on grotesque figures like the figures on the Mathura Buddhist pillars; the figures are not naked, and the royal chhata rises over their heads; the head-dress of one is very similar to the female head-dress of the great Indo-Greek black female statue in the Delhi Museum, consisting of a fillet going round, and formed into bows, &c.; the sculptures are unfortunately so weather-worn as to be useless as works of art for photographic reproduction; the head-dress of the other statue is equally plain, consisting of a simple jewelled fillet with a large jewel at the centre over the forehead, the fillet passing over the forehead and behind the ears, confining the hair.

One of the fragments of mouldings which may belong to No. 7 or No. 8 is remarkable for its simple bold outline; it is shewn in plate

No. 9 was a large temple facing east, the pillars of the entrance to the sanctum are similar to those of No. 6; this temple was probably Saivic, as an architrave lying on the ground represents a head placed on a pedestal, with Nandi sculptured below; on either side of the severed head are kneeling Nâgas, their tails running outwards in intricate convolutions and enveloping other smaller nagins

On another prostrate architrave are a number of figures, among whom are Sivâ and Pârvati.

The pilasters of the mahamandapa are of different type and coarser execution to those of the temples before noticed; one represents Durgâ slaying the buffalo demon; others represent various human figures, male and female, of indifferent and coarse execution; these figures have not the royal chhata over their heads, nor the grotesque figure under their feet.

On a fragment of a pilaster is Vishnu on Garud of good execution; this fragment probably belongs to the adjacent great Vaishnava temple noticed before.

Altogether, both from the style and from the execution

of the sculptures in this temple, it appears of a very different period to the great Vaishnava temples here; it might be supposed that the coarser execution denotes greater antiquity, but this is not the proper inference to be drawn from Indian sculpture, for, as I have mentioned in a previous paper, the art of sculpture in India, and indeed of stone cutting, appears to have been obtained from the Greeks and did not exist previous to, or at best much before, Alexander's invasion; and it is observed that, in all dated instances, the older sculptures, in any particular place, are invariably of superior execution to the more recent ones; following this rule, which there is no reason to consider inapplicable in this instance, the converse inference, that the worse executed sculptures are the later, is perfectly justifiable. I therefore consider that this Saiva temple dates to a period posterior, though not long posterior, to the Vaishnava ones.

No. 10. About 150 feet to north-west of this are the remains of a large temple; the side pillars either of the antárala or of the sanctum, probably the latter, facing east, are sculptured in front representing females; behind the figures are sculptured representations of pillars rising up above their heads from behind, the capitals are bulbous or *bell-shaped*, surmounted by a corrugated circular abacus (?) or amalaka, the whole surmounted by the usual cruciform bracket capitals; here again, as noticed in temple No. 5, the pillars shew a decidedly wooden type; a fragment of architrave lying close represents likewise the same scene as the architrave of No. 5 temple. I conclude, therefore, that the temple was Vaishnavic.

The head-dress of the females sculptured on the pillars consists of a simple broad jewelled band or fillet confining the hair, the hair being drawn back from the forehead and passing under the fillet escapes in ringlets on either side and falls over the forehead; the hair at the forehead is evidently not long, as the return ringlets do not descend below the forehead; on the other sides the hair is longer; the head-dress is altogether very remarkable, and there is something so Grecian, or so un-Indian about this simple mode of dressing the hair, that it goes a long way to prove the great antiquity of the sculptures of the temples they adorned.

This concludes the list of minor temples entirely ruined; all appear to have been built of brick picked with stone, and all rest on cell foundations; of the form of the temples or of their plan no traces remain; this much alone can be said of

the plan with great probability, that it consisted of a sanctum, an antárala, a mahamandapa, adorned with sculptured pilasters and having four central pillārs in the middle not one of which last, however, now remains (they have probably long ago gone to Rayapur, to Rájam and elsewhere); a mandapa and an ardha mandapa. The existence of three distinct architraves, evidently primary ones, in the great temple No. 6, besides the architrave of the sanctum, induces me to suppose that one belonged to the entrance of the antárala, one to the front entrance of the mahamandapa, and one to the front of the mandapa, the most external architrave of the ardha mandapa would probably have been quite plain, as I have found very often to be the case. I am, however, by no means confident in this arrangement, for though from numerous examples, and notably the remains of three temples still standing, and presently to be described, there is no doubt whatever that the mahamandapa, the antárala and the sanctum formed essential parts of a complete temple of the period as built here, there is no conclusive evidence at all to shew that the portico was divided into mandapa and ardha mandapa. I adopt this arrangement only because the finest existing examples of Hindu temple-building, though of a much later period, are so built, and not from any satisfactory evidence from the remains themselves that are here.

With regard to the elevation, there is nothing to shew what they certainly were, but the examples from the existing, but partially destroyed, three temples to be noticed below shews what they probably were, as these, like those, were most probably on the same pattern in plan, and certainly material, namely, brick picked with stone, and lastly and most important point of agreement, in style of sculpture, although it must be observed that, if any thing, the sculpture of the three temples still partially standing are somewhat, though scarcely in a perceptible degree, inferior to the finest among the ruins, but fully equal to the average. Admitting, then, that the elevation may not have been materially different to that of the partially ruined one yet standing, it becomes the type of temples of this class and period; and is absolutely invaluable, as in the whole of the year's tour, the partially ruined temple here, to be subsequently described, is the only example that I have found standing in sufficiently good order to give us an idea of temples of this period and of this class, the very earliest examples of built temples

yet discovered and consequently the most interesting both for their age and for the excellence of their sculpture.

I now proceed to the great ruin known as the "surang" or subterranean chamber; this is the ruin of a gigantic temple, which in height must have approached the great Báláditya temple of Nalanda. The ruins now consist of great lines of walls parallel to each other, built of even layers of slate stone of about the size and thickness of old bricks, close set and carefully trimmed, connected transversely by other similar cross walls carefully bonded in: the walls are from 3 feet 9 inches to 4 feet thick, and are built up perfectly plumb, and the chambers formed by the intersections of the lines of walls are of various sizes, oblong and square, but mostly narrow oblong ones. At a height of about 25 feet, the outer series of chambers appears to have been roofed over by massive slate-stone slabs dressed and carefully laid in double layers, forming a broad terrace round a central nucleus which rose certainly 10 feet and possibly more, higher than the terrace around, and was then roofed over, forming the level of the floor of the temple. As no traces of this floor exist now, I am unable to state with any certainty how much higher the floor of the temple was than the terrace outside; it was certainly more than 10 feet, as up to that height, in the foundation cells of the central temple, no trace of a floor line occurs.

The remains now existing shew apparently a remarkable isolation of the temple from its surrounding terrace. The main walls (assuming them to have been built vertically over the walls or the foundation cells) spring perfectly clear of the terrace, leaving a yawning chasm between what must have been its edge and the face of the wall, but this is merely apparent; for in reality the connection between the floor and the main wall was through the mass of elaborate and bold mouldings which invariably add dignity and breadth to the lower portions of Hindu temples.

In support of my position, large numbers of stone slabs are to be found in the chasm below, which evidently fell in from above, and are the stones which gradually roofed the space in overlapping courses.

I have already mentioned that the walls of the cell foundations are only about 4 feet thick, but the temple which stood on these cell foundations appears to have had a sanctum 60 feet square externally as its greatest width. A tower over a sanctum of this size must have been of

great height, and its supporting walls could on no account have been only 4 feet thick; but as the cell foundations have only 4 feet thick walls, how were the thicker walls of superstructure built on them? The question was solved very ingeniously, the walls of the cell foundations I have already mentioned as being at unequal distances apart, and are so arranged that a double line of walls close together run precisely along the very lines where the main heavy walls of the superstructure would have come; the thick walls of the superstructure could by this arrangement be made easily 10 feet thick, or more, and rest on both lines of close parallel walls, which no doubt, before the walls of the superstructure began, were connected together and roofed across by strong slabs of stone.

I have said that this temple approached in height the great Bálâditya temple of Nalanda. But although this temple could not have had a sanctum over 60 feet wide, while that of the Bálâditya one, measured 63 feet, yet, as that rose from near the ground level, and this rose from a superb basement, itself 25 feet high, it would appear at first sight that its total height would have been greater; for 60 × 3⅓=200, to which must be added 25 feet, the height of basement, making a total of 225 feet, the Bálâditya temple being only 200 feet.

But the assumption made that its height was proportional to its base in the same ratio as at Buddha Gaya and at Nalanda, is by no means supported by existing examples; the existing brick temple at Sirpur at present is no higher than 1½ times the base, and could not possibly have been more than twice the base, to the topmost pinnacle; the example at Soorinârâyân is only 2½ times the diameter of its base, so that we have not only no right to assume that this particular temple was in height 3⅓ times the width of base, but, as this is one of the oldest and finest examples here (the inscription opening with an invocation to Narâyana, now in the Raypur Museum, having it is said been found in this mound), we have no right to assume that it was more than twice the width of base in height; this gives only 120 feet, which added to 25 feet of base, gives a total of 145 feet—quite enough, however, to make it rank among the highest temples in India.

The great temple stood on a platform, which, from its present shapeless state, I judge to have once been 150 feet broad by 200 feet long; the entrance of the temple must

have faced east, as the greater length of the platform lies that way, and the back wall of the sanctum is at the western end; the remains of foundations further show that more than one square chamber existed towards the east, and lastly, from the east end have been dug up all remains of pillars that have been found. The temple certainly did not consist of a single cell only, but must have contained a mahamandapa also, as the foundations shew the existence of a second square large chamber to the east of the chamber of the sanctum, and the entire pillars and pilasters exhumed could not have belonged to the sanctum. Admitting, then, a great mahamandapa and a sanctum, analogy with other existing, though smaller and ruined temples in the place points to the conclusion that this great temple was a complete temple. This conclusion is confirmed by the circumstance that the great temple on its great platform formed the principal or central great shrine of a number of smaller temples on lower platforms spread round it. These subordinate temples are eight in number, three on each side, one in front and one at the back, all disposed symmetrically as is usual in such arrangements; the three at the sides are situated, two at the two corners and one opposite the centre; the ones opposite the centres of the two sides and opposite the centres of the front and back were larger than the corner ones, and among them the one opposite the front was clearly the largest; this is exactly the usual arrangement where a central great shrine has its complement of subordinate ones round it.

The whole of these subordinate temples are on cell foundations, and what is surprising is that a great portion, if not the entire present level of the ground between the small temples and the principal shrine, is, or was at one period, raised artificially higher on extensive cell foundations. It appears to me, in short, that the whole space between the great central platform and the exterior boundary of the group of temples, running probably along the backs of the subordinate temples, was once a great terrace, probably slabbed with stone and raised above the general ground level on cell foundations. The occurrence of numerous pits in the space indicated, which on examination prove to be cells whose roofs have got accidentally broken through, is sufficient evidence; although I must confess that I thought it unnecessary to examine in detail every portion of the ground, considering the widely scattered instances that already existed sufficient evidence.

The remains dug up during the excavations made under

the superintendence of a police darogah, by order of Mr. Chisholm, yielded, it is said, two inscriptions, both now at Rayapura, one of which opens with an invocation to Naráyana; a few fine round pillars, a fine entire one of which is at Rayapura, and two others (one in two pieces) which lie neglected at the foot of the mound; a square pillar or pilaster adorned with medallions and half-medallions like the Buddhist pillars with medallions found at Barahut and Gaya, but filled with exquisite scroll work and, of course, devoid of the elliptical rail holes at the sides; and a number of other fragments of no special interest; but from what the villagers say a number of finely-sculptured pillars have been removed and carried off by private individuals to various places by water-carriage. The mound, before it was dug into, is said to have been 2 porsás (fathoms) higher than now at the west end, and very much higher at the east end than it is now; but the high end was even then the highest end. This, remembering that the tower was at that end, must naturally have been the case. At present there is not the slightest advantage to be gained by further digging, and the only probable way in which benefit may be derived would be in removing the heaps of rubbish that have been carelessly thrown about, burying, I fear, several fragments that may have been of interest.

It now remains to notice the three partially-ruined temples, known as the Rám and Lachhman Mandirs; the Lachhman Mandir is the largest one of the three, and in best preservation. The Rám Mandir is a name given to a pair of distinct temples standing side by side, not far apart, and of both of which great part of the sanctum and the entire of the mahamandapas, &c., have long disappeared: the sanctums and indeed the temples were built of brick picked with stone; the bricks are finely moulded, sharp-angled, well-burnt bricks of large size, very evenly set, and the faces smoothed after setting, and the outside cut into the required forms for mouldings and sculptures after having been built into the walls. The temples face east; the roofs of the sanctums were formed of successively projecting courses of bricks, till the bricks nearly met. There is not in these smaller temples any second roof between the floor of the sanctum and the pyramidal tower roof (as is usual in stone structures), which therefore is the real and only roof of the sanctum. The temples were covered with white-lime plaster; but to what period the plaster dates, I cannot venture to decide.

The mala mandapas in both cases were profusely adorned

with those sculptured pilasters noticed as so frequently occurring here. A few of these have been photographed as specimens; they are Brahmanical and mostly Vaishnavic. Among the sculptures is a very remarkable one, which deserves detailed notice. This in its lower half is *alto relievo* and in its upper half a full statue, sculptured carefully all round. The figure represented is a four-armed male figure, with a richly-jewelled necklace and corresponding armlets; he has the sacred Brahmanical thread across his shoulders, and is dressed in a dhoti which leaves his legs below the knees bare; a rich belt is clasped round his waist; the body is naked. The execution and finish of this piece of sculpture surpasses all that is to be found here, and being in hard black basalt, it has retained to some extent its original polish to this day, notwithstanding exposure to the weather; the head, unfortunately, is broken and lost, and the statue is further cracked through at the waist: above the waist the figure is a statue, below it is in bold relief against a plain back ground which abruptly terminates just below the waist; on each side is a small female: the statue is clearly that of Vishnu the four-armed, and is most probably the image originally in the sanctum of one of the temples.

A noticeable feature of the bas reliefs sculptured on the pilasters here, is the halo of glory round the heads of the figures.

These temples also are built on cell foundations, and stand on a platform a few feet higher than the ground level around.

In a line with these two partially standing temples are the remains of two others quite ruined, but also of brick picked with stone, and also on cell foundations; they were of nearly the same size as the Râm temples.

Behind them are two other mounds, also the ruins of similar temples, similarly built and of about the same size; scattered about are several small low mounds, the ruins of small temples not of the size of those noticed.

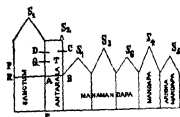
In the Râm temples stone appears to have been used more than usual.

The Lachhman Mandir stands a few hundred feet off, and is much larger and in much better preservation, and indeed being the only temple standing in tolerable preservation, though by no means in such good order as would have been desirable, becomes the type which must be adopted for the temples of this place; it, in common with the others, is

built on cell foundations of brick picked with stone, and rises from a terrace about 6 feet high above the ground; it consists of a sanctum nearly 10 feet square inside, an antárala, a mahamandapa (the two last roofless), and a mass of ruins which may have been the portico and the mandapa. The sanctum is roofed in the usual way by projecting courses of bricks rising up till they nearly meet; the antárala was roofed by a sort of dormer window arrangement, a triangular projection from the main tower on the front, as is to be seen in examples both in brick and stone elsewhere. Of the roofing of the mahamandapa I can give no certain idea, the thinness of the side walls precludes the idea of a vault, and stone overlapping circles were certainly not used, nor is it possible to have roofed it with overlapping courses of bricks without destroying the due subordination of the roof of the mahamandapa to that of the sanctum. I can only suggest that it was roofed by flat slabs of stone resting on architraves, themselves supported by pillars and pilasters, of which there was no lack. This arrangement appears to me the only feasible one, but a roof like this would not harmonise with the rest of the structure. I suggest, therefore, that over the real roof of stone slabs rose a false roof of the usual low pyramidal or conoidal shape; the roofing of the mahamandapas of brick temples is a problem, the solution of which is satisfactorily afforded in no instance. The great temple at Buddha Gaya had, one would think, a vaulted roof, as the sanctum has such a one to this day; but it does appear from the subsequent construction of a second pavilion over it that it was a flat roof. A discussion of this point is, however, out of place here. I can only say, that if the mahamandapa was not roofed by flat slabs and covered with a false pyramidal roof, it must have either been roofed in compartments by distinct small towers congregating about the central tallest tower over the central four pillars of the mahamandapa, or it must have had a large vaulted roof, which, of course, as was to be expected, has undergone destruction long ago. To the former arrangement the only objection is the great weight which the architraves would have had to sustain; but this is not an insuperable objection, and indeed on maturer consideration I think this was the mode adopted.

The roofing of the mandapa and ardha mandapa need have given no trouble.

The pillars and pilasters inside, from mutilated existing

fragments, appear to have been of the same style as those already described as belonging to the great ruined Vaishnava temples. The entrance to the sanctum is formed by leaving an opening in front, which extending a long way up is closed gradually by overlapping bricks; within this opening is set a stone door-frame profusely and carefully sculptured, but as the top lintel, or architrave, supports nothing and serves no constructive purpose whatever, it appears quite out of place. I have, however, strong reason for thinking that it supported the ends of stone slabs which formed a flat roof over the antárala. Over this flat roof of the antárala was the regular triangular roof projecting from the face of the main tower: fragments of two of the stone slabs which thus roofed the antárala are still *in situ*.

The necessities of construction compel an immense opening D E to be left in the front face of the tower to allow of admission into the sanctum.

The necessity of a gradual subordination of parts render it imperative that the five spires S_1 S_2 S_3 S_4 S_5 should gradually become lower and lower, so that the great tower should maintain its pre-eminence and appear the chief of a gradually rising series of spires. Hence the spire S_4 must be higher than S_6, S_3 than S_4, S_2 than S_3; the subordination of S_5 to S_4 is a constructive necessity, the ardha mandapa being usually somewhat smaller than the mandapa, and even where equal it is not difficult to subordinate the one to the other.

The spire S_3 must of necessity be higher than S_1, the central square of the mahamandapa being larger than the mandapa, besides, as a rule, resting on higher pillars, so that there is not any difficulty but the reverse in preserving harmony so far.

The case, however, is far different with spire S_2, which covers a space no larger than S_4 or S_5. Here the constructive

necessity, if the ordinary construction be followed, renders it lower than S_2 and quite invisible from the front; therefore a construction of a different nature has of necessity to be adopted to preserve due subordination.

This is usually, I may say universally, in temples both of brick and stone, effected by making the roof of the antárala project in a triangular form from the front of the great tower at a suitable height.

When stone is the material used in construction, there is no necessity for a great rent in the front of the temple, as even if the opening be wide, stone permits of deeper corbelled projections to close the opening within a shorter height when the architrave construction is not used: generally, however, in such cases, the architrave construction is used, and the weight over the architrave is lessened by leaving an opening in the front face vertically over the architrave to serve as doorway to the second, and even in cases third, tier of chambers which are placed over the proper sanctum chamber, this itself being roofed by intersecting squares; and the antárala being also roofed by intersecting squares and the front wall of the triangular projection S_2 C B pierced by a small opening, the result is satisfactory, as even if a few drops of rain succeed in penetrating the small opening, the roofs of intersecting squares over the antárala and sanctum prevent its reaching the statues or worshippers. When, however, brick is the material of construction, constructive necessities compel the opening to assume the form of a great rent in the front of the tower, and as it is not convenient, or if it be not considered desirable to have an inner roof over the sanctum along the line A R, rain would freely beat in; this is only partially obviated by the projecting roof D C over the antárala, which being itself under the necessity of having a great opening in front C B to relieve the supporting architrave, rain, even if it does not reach the sanctum, would freely beat into the antárala. Here, then, the putting in of a roof A B is not an optional matter as in stone temples, (which sometimes have no inner false roof over the antárala,) but becomes a rigid necessity; hence the invariable custom of having a roof A B over the antárala within the external gable roof D C, and hence also the necessity of an architrave strong and deep at A across the opening in the sanctum wall to rest the roof on.

This done, rain can no longer get to the sanctum, for the portions beaten in through the opening C B are in-

tercepted by the roof A B, and only a little spray can succeed in getting in through the rent A D.

This in small temples is too small to be of note; in great temples it is remedied of necessity by a roof over the sanctum along the dotted line A R.

When the temple is very large, even this is evidently not quite sufficient, and a roof becomes a necessity in an intermediate position, as shewn by P Q T. This is the case in the Buddha Gaya great temple. But it is not here necessary to proceed further with the discussion; this will be found in another paper. The great rent in brick temples is hidden in a front view of the temple by the intermediate conical or pyramidal cluster of roofs over the mahamandapa and mandapa, &c., and does not in the normal state of the building obtrude itself into unpleasant prominence.

But when the building is in ruins, the whole of the roof in front of the tower having tumbled in, the great, deep, thick architrave at A, which originally served a very necessary constructive purpose, looks quite out of place. Its immense strength appears as though intended for no purpose, and far from looking appropriate, it has exactly the look of a gateway stolen from some other building and put in where it is seen merely to cut up the great height of the great rent, which, without this obstruction, really looks far more suitable and harmonious.

Whenever, therefore, such a gateway is seen obtruding itself across the great rent of a brick temple, the conclusion may be safely drawn that the temple possessed an antárala and mahamandapa, &c. It is not invariably, however, that brick temples have such entrances; but this is not the place to enter further into the subject.

The interior faces of the walls of the mahamandapa are quite plain, depending no doubt entirely on the sculptured pilasters and pillars of stone for ornament; the roof, however, must in any case have been plain, and it does not appear that the beautiful domes of overlapping stones found in structures of the eighth century, and downwards, were in use prior to, or in the fifth century at least, in this part of India.

Externally, the temple depends for ornament entirely on cut-brick. The designs appear to have been executed for the most part after the bricks were in position, but the main lines and block outline appear to have been attended to in the course of construction. The curious urn-shaped mouldings of the base deserve attention, as being the most archaic

hitherto found. The sunk false-panelled doorways, with deep delicate mouldings, and the sunshade over the doorway, are features deserving of attention, betraying unmistakably a wooden, as well as an un-Indian origin; and the thin pillars with bell capitals point also to a wooden Persepolitan type: at the corners we have the usual tier on tier of amalakas, separated by niched spaces, which bear a close resemblance to the trefoil arches in Kashmir: in the centres of the main faces are ornamented large trefoil niches; the trefoil is not, indeed, of the orthodox shape, but there can be no mistake as to what they were meant to be. These trefoil niches in subsequent ages have become variously modified; but their position, corresponding precisely and invariably to the projecting gable roof from the front face of the building, shews that they are essentially a symmetrical reproduction on the three other faces of the constructively necessary projecting gable roof in front. The *retention in these of the trefoil is a curious record of the original shape of the opening in the front*, which, in course of time, and through the necessities of construction, has in all other parts of India, except Kashmir, lost the trefoil form. It is out of place to speculate here, but I may invite a comparison with the temples of Kashmir in General Cunningham's book on its architecture

The position of this ornament, however, enables the original height of the temple to be estimated. I have ascertained from numerous examples, details of which are given in another paper, that this ornamental feature occupied the centre of the tower portion from above the line of cornice over the top of the body of the temple to the top of the pinnacle. Applying this law to this temple, it is seen that the pinnacle of the temple could not have been more than about 40 feet above the basement, the external width of the temple being about 24 feet; the height is thus seen to be rather less than twice the base.

The platform on which the temple stands is itself about 6 feet high above the present ground level.

The plates will furnish details of measurements, which need no repetition here.

The bricks used in the construction measure 17 inches long by 9 inches wide, and rather less than 3 inches deep; 24 bricks being equal to 5½ feet, or, more exactly, a little over 5 feet 5 inches.

Round the temple were disposed symmetrically on small detached platforms eight smaller temples—one opposite each

of the four faces, and one opposite each of the four corners; the two in front and at the back were the largest, the side ones came next, the corner ones were the smallest; every one of these has long ago subsided into a mound of brickbats: they were, like the main temple, on cell foundations.

The remarkable fact that all the temples here are invariably built on cell foundations puzzled me not a little, till at last it occurred to me, from the sandy and low appearance of the ground, that the river overflowed the place.

On enquiry the villagers said that the river does not usually rise high enough to flood the place, but in certain years it did; and on one occasion there was water breast-deep at the group of temples near the Ráyakhera Tal. Here, then, is the explanation of the cause why the temples are *all* raised above the ground level.

The old city is said to have extended to beyond Chhirká Tal on the south, and to Khámtarai on the north. There are a few fragments on the banks of Chhirká Tal, and there is the ruin of a temple at Khámtarai, to bear out this assertion; this would make the length of the city 5 miles along the Mahánadi, but only a mile in depth; but, whatever the real facts may be, there can be no doubt that the great buildings were all constructed within a diameter of a mile.

The traditions of the place ascribe the buildings of the temples to Bhábru Vahan Raja.

In olden days, says tradition, Sirpur was a very large place, with a circumference of 5 coss; there reigned here a Rani, who embanked the great tank. She used to reside in the Surang (this being the name given to the great temple on account of its deep cells). Subterranean passages led to the river and to the tank; she used to bathe in the river and then proceed to the tank, where she would seat herself on a lotus leaf. The people were happy and paid no taxes; they were rich, too, for the gods had poured on the place a golden rain for 2½ days. The accumulated wealth lies buried to this day between bat and pipar trees, and whoever can find out the particular bat and pipar trees alluded to in the legend, will assuredly on digging find untold wealth. One day it occurred to the Rani that if she took a single cowrie from each house within her dominions, the total would be a great deal. Accordingly orders were issued, and the amount collected aggregated 12 cart-loads of cowries; the next day, however, when she went as usual to sit on the lotus leaf in the tank, it would no longer support her. Terrified at this prodigy, she returned the cowries she

had taken, one to each house, and the lotus once again bore her weight; but the fiat for the destruction of her race had gone forth, she herself reigned peaceably and died. But during the reign of her successors, some time afterwards, a great foreign army invaded the kingdom; unable to repel or resist, the Raja and all his subjects fled into the Surang for refuge and closed the doors: a dog, however, had accidently also got in with the multitude, and when the invaders in their search approached the Surang, the dog smelling strangers, began to bark, and thus disclosed their retreat; the doors of the Surang were then blown open by cannon, and the whole of the people destroyed by gunpowder. Since then Sirpur has been desolate, its wealth has gone to Rayapura, while the scrub of Rayapura has come here instead. Such is the legend.

The golden rain in the legends is a very curious circumstance; the story of the lady sitting on the lotus leaf is found also in the legends of Hasanpur in Magadha, in a different form.

NÁRÁYANPUR.

About 20 miles lower down the Mahánadi, on the same bank of the river as Sirpur, is the small village of Náráyanpur; here are a few temples which, from their style, I would place after the 9th century: these temples are of stone; the principal one consists of a sanctum and a mandapa: the mandapa is an oblong hall greater in breadth than in length in the direction of the sanctum; it is or was open on all sides, the roof being supported by four entire pillars in the centre, and dwarf ones resting on benches round the three exterior sides, the back resting on pilasters abutting against the outside or front of the sanctum; the arrangement it will be seen is similar to that of the temples at Wyragarh, but there is an essential difference between them, that here the plan is not tame, but rich in variety of light and shade, and the elevation is also richly adorned with bold mouldings and a profusion of sculpture; the temple faces east; it has evidently undergone repair; the mahamandapa having not only at some subsequent period been repaired with brick, but the openings at the sides and front between the bench and the roof having been closed with patch-work brick walls. The sanctum of the temple leans over considerably, and the mouldings of the basement have got broken and greatly distorted in consequence.

The sanctum has a roof of intersecting squares, supported

on four corner pilasters; these are plain, but broken up along their length by a block or projecting moulding; they are surmounted by corbelled capitals; the faces are ornamented by plain geometrical patterns; the pillars in front of the sanctum are profusely sculptured, and the sculpture is both deep and carefully finished, and was originally, I think, polished, as traces of polish are still occasionally to be seen. The pillars of the mandapa, however, are by no means in keeping with the sculptured entrance to the sanctum, and there is therefore strong reason for supposing that the mandapa is a later edition, or at least a restoration; this last is my opinion, for its mouldings are quite in keeping with the mouldings of the sanctum in richness and variety; the mahamandapa having got ruined was, it appears to me, repaired subsequently, still, however, retaining the original walls, but only up to a certain height, probably up to the portion that was not destroyed, and over it dwarf pillars were placed to support the roof. It is noticeable, too, as strongly confirmatory of this view, that the façade of the mandapa shows that there was not a small doorway in it in the position and size of the present one, but that the opening was a large one, and was evidently the opening from the mahamandapa into the mandapa which once existed in front of it; I conclude, therefore, that the existing temple consists only of the sanctum, and part of the mahamandapa of a larger temple, repaired subsequently, the portico and roofs of the mandapa and mahamandapa being entirely due to the later restoration; the original roof over the antárala projecting from the face of the tower is still in existence, though repaired.

Within the mahamandapa, and placed in the niches formed by running patch-work brick walls between the dwarf pillars, are numerous statues; the statues are in excellent preservation and in style, material and execution are similar to the statues found in and about Rajjháná near Lakhisarai in Behar; they are all small and all in very bold relief; as there are no temples in the vicinity whence the statues can be supposed to have been brought, except Sirpur, and as these are, from their style, of a later date than the temples at Sirpur, it follows that most probably the statues belong to the temple; they must, therefore, have been inserted somehow in the mahamandapa of the temple; with an open mahamandapa I do not see how this could have been effected, but if we suppose the mahamandapa to have

been similar to the mahamandapas of the Khajuráhá temples, it is at once seen where and how the statues were put in; these statues, therefore, confirm the supposition that the temple was originally a complete one built in the style of the temples at Khajuráhá, and at about the same period: the statues are 2½ feet high altogether. and are both Saivic and Vaishnavic.

The sanctum enshrines a similar statue; the temple was Saivic, a figure of Pàrvati occupying the inner and outer architraves of the sanctum and the mandapa; on either side are statues of Ganeça and Sivá.

The exterior of the temple is richly ornamented with mouldings profusely sculptured, and two rows of figures going round the sanctum, the mandapa is not left uncared for, but is similarly ornamented. The statues, however, are mostly obscene, and among the subjects depicted is one which no doubt is intended to explain with more plainness than decency the origin of the Nagavansi race; how any Raja of the Nagavansi race could permit such a disgraceful libel against his female ancestor it is difficult to understand.

The existence of Vaishnava statues shows, however, that one or more Vaishnava temples once existed here; there are traces in the adjacent river bed of a temple or temples having been washed away; the present temple, too, stands close to the river, which here has high banks on this side, showing that the tendency of the river is to cut its banks here, and it is not by any means improbable that some years hence this temple may also disappear in the river.

A few small shrines exist in the vicinity: one to Aditya, faces west and touches the north-east corner of the great temple; it is quite devoid of ornament; the ruins of two others are to be seen at the back, and a third on the other side; it is therefore not improbable that this temple was the central shrine of a group of 7 or 8 minor temples disposed round it in the usual way; but the position of the smaller one touching the great one, and the ruins of those at the back, being more distant from the great temple, is not suggestive of a symmetrical arrangement. Aditya, too, or the Sun, to whom the small temple is dedicated, has not much connection with Sivá. And the tilting over of the small temple tends to show that the great temple was built subsequent to it, and has by its weight caused this tilting of the pre-existing small temple.

The river I must remark is here very wide with a very

gentle current, the current flowing close to, but not touching, the right high banks.

The village of Náráyanpur is about 300 feet furthur inland.

To the south of the village are traces of buildings, probably temples.

KURWÁI.

About 5 or 6 miles from here lower down the Mahánadi is the village of Kurwái; here are several temples, mostly of brick and stone mixed; they are not ancient; a peculiarity worth notice is that one of the temples has a double transept separated by an interval, the plan being therefore a double cross like the letter H, with the central stroke prolonged outwards on both sides.

BÁLUDÁ.

About 3 miles south-west of Seorináráyan, on the right bank of the Jong or Jonk River, is the small village of Báludá; here on the banks of a tank known as Bandhuá Talao, is a laterite lingam which is fabled to have newly sprung up from the ground; it is, of course, to be understood from this that rain or excavations having removed the earth, an old established lingam has been brought to light. There are traces of a temple having once existed here, which I presume was Saivic.

Seorináráyan, properly Savari Náráyana, is an important city on the left bank of the Mahánadi just below the junction of the Jonk River on the opposite bank; it is a well-known place of pilgrimage, and being on the route to Puri from Central India, always contains a number of pilgrims *en route*.

The number of ancient remains here are, however, not numerous; the only ancient remains that exist are all to be found within a great enclosed courtyard; this courtyard contains many temples, large and small; there are only two large ones, the others are small, and the whole of the small ones may be dismissed in a very few words: they are mostly all ancient, extensively repaired and modified, and are neither elegant in appearance, nor interesting for any peculiarities of architecture; the larger of them are quite modern, probably on ancient sites and with a sort of ancient core; the smaller ones retain more of their ancient structure. The object of worship in them are of various kinds, but the preponderating figure is that of a seated figure with the hands at breast,

and fingers so disposed as to form an almond-shaped slit flanked on each side by the lines formed by the lines of the other fingers; there can be no mistaking the obscene intention of the symbol. One of the statues which is inscribed shows that it is Saivic, and not, as I at first supposed, Vaishnavic. The inscription is dated in Kalachuri Samvat 898, and opens with an invocation to Sivá. The Brahmans, however, unanimously pronounce it a statue of Náráyana, as they cannot, or will not, read the clearly cut and easily legible Saiva invocation with which the inscription opens; the figure, therefore, is clearly of Sivá, with the fingers so disposed that his devout worshippers in paying their devotions to the lord of the lingam in this form may not miss worshipping the yoni at the same time.

The sculptures are fairly executed, but are by no means equal to the sculptures of Sirpur.

The two great temples stand facing each other, one of brick and one of stone; the stone one has lately been extensively repaired and liberally plastered and white-was ed, and this, added to the circumstance that admission even to the outer hall is denied to the unorthodox, prevents me from giving any further account or information regarding it beyond this, that the temple appears to have been a large and complete one, facing east, built of stone, cut and set without cement, and adorned with sculpture; the sculptures are either plastered over, or built in within the outer massive modern walls which are built against the exterior of the original walls by way of support against bulging out.

The figure inside is said to be of black stone, about 3 feet high; it represents a two-armed and two-legged seated human figure. The legs crossed, one hand resting on the thigh, the other below the chest held horizontally. The statue is said to be precisely like that at Rájam known as Rajib Lochana's, and, like it, is clearly Buddhist, resembling the great statue of Buddha at Rajjháná, and about the same also in height; they are, however, full statues and not *alto relievos*.

At the extremity of the colonnade built in front of the temple, is a statue said to be of Garud. I could not see this or examine it; there is also a statue of Hanumân.

To the right of the entrance of the temple, is a loose pilaster with a sculptured figure similar to the pilasters described at Sirpur; this female figure is now known as the statue of Savari. The legend is, that here Savari worshipped Ráma, and as a boon asked that her name should precede his,

hence the name of the place Savari Náráyana shortened to Seorináráyan; a similar legend, it will be remembered, accounts for the name Rajib Lochana, and both are equally unworthy of credit.

The existence of the Buddhist statue shows that Buddhism flourished here anciently, but no inscriptions or other Buddhist records are now to be found. It is, however, worthy of note, that the Saivic statue described above is merely a modified copy of the usual seated statues of Buddha with hands at breast.

Whether the Buddhist statue was originally enshrined in this temple, or in some other now not in existence, it is impossible to say; the temple in which it now is, I guess to date to no earlier period than the 9th century, but my want of opportunity for examining it must render my opinion on this point liable to great error; the general style of the shrine is however precisely like those of the Khajuráhá temples, and totally unlike those of Sirpur.

The occurrence of Buddhist remains at Rájam, Sirpur and here, clearly show that Buddhism prevailed in these parts in ancient times, and I have assumed that it preceded both Saivism and Vaishnavism. At Rájam we know from its inscriptions that Saivism prevailed as early as the 5th century; at Sirpur we know from inscriptions that both Saivism and Vaishnavism flourished in the 5th century; here its inscriptions tell us that Saivism flourished in about the 10th or 9th century; but not one of the inscriptions tells us when Buddhism flourished. My assumption, therefore, is totally unsupported by the evidence of inscriptions, and it is quite possible, seeing that Vaishnavism and Saivism flourished side by side at the same period, that Buddhism may equally well have existed at the same time, whatever the State religion may have been. The superb Jám temple at Arang is proof that religious persecution formed no part of the State policy, and this is borne out by numerous instances elsewhere. The idea that Buddhism was systematically persecuted and stamped forcibly out of India is supported by not the shadow of any satisfactory evidence; occasionally, individual kings like Çaçângka may have tried to stamp it out by force, but it mainly died the death it deserved. Brahmanism with all its faults is a natural product of humanity. Buddhism appears to me essentially a protest against, rather than itself a religion. But this is not the place for such a discussion.

Close to, but fixed into a wall quite independent of this temple, is a long inscription in which there is a great oblong gap at the right-hand upper-half; it opens with an invocation to Sivá, and is dated 979 of the Chedi Samvatsare. The characters are similar to those of the statue inscription dated 898 of the Kalachuri era, and both are in characters of about the 9th century, or later.

The brick temple which stands close to and facing the great stone temple noticed, is remarkable for its height, size, material and form. As at present existing, only the sanctum and antárala can be considered ancient; the mahamandapa in front is clearly modern and very clumsily built, and patched on to the older portion. I will, therefore, take account only of the sanctum and the antarala.

The sanctum is built on a circular plan, the circumference of the circle having 4 straight faces substituted at the opposite sides to serve as principal facés; the intermediate arcs are cut up into a number of indentations; towards the back there are 5 of these angular projections on each side of the central back face; on the front, owing to the arrangements for joining on the mahamandapa, there is room only for 2 of the projections on each side. In plan, therefore, the temple resembles in principle the Árang temple; the principle of construction is shown in the plate; in the temple at Árang the plan is based on a division of each quadrant into 4 parts, drawing lines to the divisions from the centre; there are altogether 5 lines including the rectangular ordinates bounding the quadrant. On each of the 3 intermediate lines are constructed right-angled triangles with their apices indented; the construction will be better understood from the figure than from a lengthy description—to the plate then I refer. At Seorinárâyan, the quadrant is divided into 6 equal parts; there are consequently 7 lines including the bounding ones of the quadrant, and on 5 of these right-angled triangles are erected; the construction will be understood from the plate: they both are based on circles instead of, as usual, on squares, and both resemble each other so far that the principal faces are carried right up to the top, but while in the stone temple at Árang the principal faces are carried up unbroken (but not unsculptured) right to the top, in the brick temple it is broken up into a series of pinnacles, rising over and behind each other; the angular projections in the stone temple are broken up into a chain of miniature towers right to the top; here they are

also broken up, but neither so effectively nor to the top. On the contrary, when near the top, the angular projections rise right to the top without a single break; the general appearance is somewhat that of the temple of Vishvesher in Benares, shown at page 597, Vol. II., Fergusson's Architecture; so that, while the temple at Árang rises in unbroken majesty and with a continuous graceful outline, this, on the contrary, rises with a non-continuous outline, its outline being an indented curve, and in so far resembling the example quoted from Fergusson; this difference is not due to difference of material at all, but to choice—and the effect is by no means so pleasing as the other. The temple is unique of its kind, and, being of great size, is deserving of study. Its height is about 60 feet, and it has only lost the topmost pinnacle above the amalaka; the proportion of its total height to base was probably 2½

The temple is so far injured, both in the upper portions and in the basement, that few details regarding it can now be obtained; the mouldings of its base are all worn, and are besides thickly coated with plaster. So also is the most part of the lower half, while the upper half has nearly lost all its details by the tumbling off of the outermost face bricks; but from such remains as exist, it appears to be a conglomeration of various styles, and I am forced to give up as hopeless any attempt to rank it under any well-defined type. At the same time it is difficult, in the absence of other examples of its kind, to form it into a class of itself; I leave it, therefore, with the remark that it is a very unique temple, and its study may be of use.

Regarding its age, there is nothing to judge by, except the sculptures on its pillars and on its entrance, and the statue inside; the last is a life-size statue beautifully executed and highly polished in a peculiar greenish stone; the sculptures of the gateway also are very elaborate, and they do not appear much inferior to the Sirpur ones, but in my opinion resemble rather more closely the sculptures of the entrance to the sanctum of the temples at Náráyanapura and at Páli (the former has been already noticed; the latter will be noticed further on). On this ground I would hesitate to assign to it a date much prior to the 9th century; its resemblance in plan to the Árang temple is another argument pointing to the same date; but I must add that the sanctity of all the temples at Scorinárïyan interposed an insuperable obstacle to a careful and minute examination of them,

and my impressions are, therefore, only those which I obtained from a superficial view.

Photographs of the sculpture could not be obtained from there being no position where the instrument could be set up to get a good view of even one side of the sculptured gateway, which, however, is well worth reproduction as an illustration of Indian sculpture.

The statue in the temple is said to be Vishnu. I, however, feel sure it is Aditya; on the doorway of the sanctum is sculptured a two-armed standing figure holding lotus flowers,—a form in which Aditya is frequently represented.

The temple appears to have never been finished, as the sculptures on the north jamb of the doorway are evidently incomplete.

The sanctum is said to be roofed inside with stone slabs, in intersecting squares, over which, the Brahmans assert, two tiers of chambers existed; but the dangerous state of the temple, and the inaccessibility of the entrances of the chambers which are now said to be hidden behind heavy-tangled creepers, rendered it impossible to verify their statements. No one would volunteer to climb up the crumbling face of the temple, and they were quite right, as the result would certainly have been serious bodily injury.

An annual fair is held at Seorináráyan, but it is not so well attended as the fair at Rájam. There are, however, various other fairs of no great importance held at different times; when I visited the place there was a fair; people were bathing in the river on the occasion of the full moon of Mágh. The great gathering, however, takes place on Sivárátri.

KHÁROD.

Three miles to the north-west of Seorinárâyan is a small village, Khárod; the Central Provinces Gazetteer makes a strange mistake in placing it 40 miles to the east of Bilâspur. To all my inquiries after a place of this name, containing ancient remains, and 40 miles east of Bilâspur, I got negative replies. If, however, this be the place meant, then the Gazetteer has made a second mistake in assigning the date 902 to its inscription. The inscription here is clearly dated in Chedi Samvat 933, and opens with an invocation to Sivá; the inscription is within a large dark temple, to which I was not permitted access. As this, though not the oldest, is certainly the largest and most important temple here, I begin with it.

The temple consists of a sanctum at the end of a long high-walled enclosure; this enclosure is internally divided into a number of chambers, all exceedingly dark; what the real plan of the temple is I can only conjecture; it appears to be a complete temple, which has been prolonged in front by later additions; the temple also is by no means quite ancient, but owes its present appearance to extensive repairs and restorations exteriorly, and I am told interiorly also; it is plain.

The whole is situated within a courtyard, and the temple itself stands on a raised terrace, its floor being higher than the ground level and approached by steps.

The inscription is within the temple, and of course quite inaccessible to me. My Hindu servant, however, was permitted to take impressions of it. The temple is Saivic, and is known as the temple of Lakhneswar, Lakhneswar being the name of the enshrined lingam.

The lingam is said to be of a stone which has innumerable holes. I infer it to be laterite.

There are said to be 5 such lingams in the district, all exceedingly holy and ancient; these are named Fingeswar at Fingeswar, Kuleswar at Rájam (in the temple of Mahadeo Kuleswar), Gandheswar in the temple at Sirpur, Lakhneswar here, and Burhá at Ratanpur

Khárod derives its name, according to local tradition, from Khára and Dusháne, the brothers of Rávana They were 5 brothers, Khára and Dusháne residing here, Trisirás at Lavan (Laon of the maps, north-east of Ráyapura near the left bank of the Mahánadi), Jabal at Turturiá,* said to be in the hills to the east of the line from Sirpur to Náráyanpur.

At Turturiá, which is a place of pilgrimage, there is said to be a stone temple, of cut-stone set without cement; there is also a cave and a holy bat tree known as Akshaybat or Achaybar. Unfortunately I only heard of this cave when I was far beyond it. The battle between Khára Dusháne, and Ráma was fought on the banks of the Mahánadi at a spot marked by a bat tree and known as Panchávati; the nose of Surpa Nekhá was cut off at the cave in the Turturiá hill, which is thus made to have been the spot where Ráma then dwelt. The temple there is ascribed to Jabal; there is also a kund there. On this hill Rávana halted when he was carrying off Sitá to fight the great vulture. Another account says that the temples at Turturiá were built by Raja Tamra Dhwaj of Ratanpur, while the temples of Khárod are ascribed to his

* Since writing this, I have visited Turturiá, vide report, 1875 76

brother Aswa Dhwaj; the Mahánadi is said to be the ancient Chitrá Palávati. I give the legend as I heard it. Comment on it is needless.

Besides the great temple at Khárod, there are numerous smaller temples; two comparatively large ones are near the road from Seorináráyan to the village. Of these, one is neglected and in ruins; the other is still cared for, and is adorned with sculpture collected from all sides; in this temple are numerous pillars and pilasters with sculptured females similar to the sculptures at Sirpur; there are besides numerous detached statues of various kinds; the pillars appear to have belonged to the temple, which is of brick picked with stone, and which must once have been a very fine temple; it is now greatly decayed, all the mouldings and sculptures are broken and crumbling; it stands on a low mound about 8 feet or a little more in height; the mound appears to have once been a raised terrace on which the temple stood; there are traces of several small temples in the vicinity; the temple is dedicated to Devi (Káli?); but the door was closed, and I could not ascertain

There are numerous fragments about the village.

Beyond, and to the north of the village, are the remains of a group of small temples. These are of interest only for the fine sculptures which adorn, or once adorned, their entrances; they all appear to have consisted of cells simply, with a little projecting portico; the sculptures are very good, and equal to the fine sculpture in the great brick temple at Seorináráyan; and I* would ascribe this group of temples to the same period as the Seorináráyan temple; there are about 5 of these temples, some quite ruined; in one of the temples lies a fragment of a Nága, but whether it was itself a statue, or is only part of a sculpture in which a Nága was introduced, I cannot tell. I myself incline to the latter belief; there is, among others, a temple to Aditya with his seven horses shown on the pedestal

The temples noticed before as of brick picked with stone, and containing statues like those at Sirpur, I ascribe to a very early period, the same as the Sirpur ones. Among the sculptures I could see none that were undeniably Buddhist; some, however, appeared to me clearly Brahmanical; but, as Buddhism once existed here, as shown by the statue now enshrined in the great temple at Seorináráyan, it is not impossible that some of the pillars may be Buddhist.

* I have since revisited the place and now assign these temples to the 7th century of Our Era at latest.

PAMGARH MALHAR.

Enquiry at Seorinaráyan and here showed me that **Pámgarh** and Malhár are merely earthen forts, and no remains of structures now exist there, the inscription from **Malhár** having been carried off to Biláspur, and Pámgarh possessing none, I thought it better therefore to march *viá* Janjgir, which was said to contain several fine temples. I, however, subsequently and, unfortunately, too late, found, by sending one of my men to Malhár, that there are the remains of two temples besides numerous fragments scattered all over.

On the road and when hardly clear of Khárod, several fragments of sculpture of no interest or size are to be seen. I must note, however, that extensive additions, alterations and repairs are now in progress at Khárod, and that stone masons are very busy utilizing all material they can get, so that I much fear the stock of antiquities there will soon suffer serious diminution. As it is, the already executed repairs and additions have much to answer for.

Janjgir or Jangir (Jehangir in the Indian Atlas Sheet) is situated about 22 miles north of Seorinaráyan and to the east of Bilá'pur. The Gazetteer strangely enough places it 33 miles to north-east of Bilaspur, and says—"there is a remarkably handsome temple here in a remarkably complete condition." There are two temples, one of which is much dilapidated, and the other never was finished.

These are the only two existing temples, but there is no doubt that others also existed in ancient times.

Architecturally, the temples are very interesting. Here I propose giving a brief description only, reserving a discussion of the architecture for a future paper.

The smaller of the two temples is a complete temple, now much decayed; it was Vaishnavic, it faces east, and consisted of the full complement of 4 chambers and a hall.

The temple is built of stone and is profusely sculptured everywhere, both inside and out, except the exterior of the sanctum, which is perfectly plain.

The sanctum is now partially filled in by rubbish; it is of the usual style, a square chamber with pilasters and corbelled caps supporting a roof of intersecting squares; here, however, the roof of intersecting squares has fallen in and partially filled up the cell, which has now accordingly only the tower roof over it, and although the stones

used are throughout set without any cementing material, the tower roof does not leak—an unusual circumstance.

The central figure on the top sill of the entrance is Vishnu with Brahmá and Sivá at the sides; the entrance is elaborately sculptured; the antárala is noways particularly noticeable; next comes the mahamandapa; this has, at the two sides, two projecting windows as in the examples at Khajuráhá. The whole of the walls are profusely sculptured with scenes from the Rámáyana, and elsewhere; the eye is bewildered by the profusion of sculpture; but, as may be expected, the execution is evidently hasty, and of the immense number of scenes represented, very few can be recognised. Among these are—

A scene showing Ráma, Lakshmana, Sitá, Rávana and a deer.

A scene, Ráma chasing the deer, Rávana hiding, Lakshmana preparing to follow Ráma.

A scene, Rávana carrying off Sitá.

A scene, trial of Ráma's strength before Sugriva, Ráma pierces 7 tar or palm trees with an arrow.

A scene, Báli and Sugriva fighting; Ráma from behind trees shooting an arrow at Báli

A scene, monkeys fighting demons.

A scene, monkeys carrying rocks to build the bridge to Lanká.

A scene, Ráma worshipping a lingam at the sea-shore at Rámisseram.

Several battle scenes.

The pillars next to the entrance have obscene sculptures representing scenes from Krishna's life.

A scene, Krishna killing the demon.

There is no doubt that every scene is taken either from the Rámáyana, or from some other Vaishnavic work; but the story of the Rámáyana is the principal one represented no doubt. These sculptures are not confined to the mahamandapa alone, but line the walls of the mandapa and of the ardha mandapa as well; the pillars of the temple are cut up into divisions, each devoted to a scene, and the whole interior is, up to the architraves, a mass of historic or rather legendary sculpture.

This profusely sculptured hall was roofed by a dome of overlapping stones; the roof has tumbled in long ago, but the remains show that the roof stones had, sculptured on them, geometrical figures and scroll work and rows of female figures; the square is formed into an octagon by cutting off the corners

by massive architraves and the circular overlapping dome sprung direct from this octagon; the corbelled capitals of the pillars, which themselves are sculptured, project into the hall beyond the line of the octagon, and evidently supported female figures which were represented as upholding the roof; when entire, the effect must have been rich beyond even the examples of Khajuráhá, which have no spirited historic or legendary sculptures on the walls to occupy the mind; now, however, with the roof broken, and the supporting females gone, the effect is very greatly reduced.

The three entrances from the mandapa into the two windows at the sides and outwards, were provided with doors as is shown by the existence of the stone rings in which the door-posts were to work, and by the non-existence of sculpture on the portions which would be hidden on account of the door; the window seats, are, as in Khajuráhá, provided with sloping back-rests.

The north window has been completely broken up by a large pipar tree which grows close to the temple; its roots have embraced the stones, while separating and splitting them, so closely that, although as a structure the window no longer exists, most of the stones which served in its construction are still in or near their original positions upheld in the close embrace of the roots and branches of the tree.

The mandapa and ardha mandapa are also partially ruined. It is remarkable that, although the whole of the mandapa and the entrance are profusely sculptured and richly adorned with scenes, the sanctum and antárala are comparatively plain; the interior of the sanctum is indeed remarkably plain, even the pilasters which supported the now defunct roof of intersecting squares are perfectly plain, adorned only with a block or projecting moulding in the middle.

Exteriorly, the portico and mandapa are as profusely sculptured as inside, but in a different style. We have no historical or other scenes, but the usual scenes of processions and detached statues as at Khajuráhá; there are two rows of statues where the window openings do not compel their omission; they are much the same as the Khajuráhá ones, but with very much fewer and greatly less conspicuous obscenities.

But although the mahamandapa and portico are so profusely sculptured, the sanctum and antárala have perfectly plain exteriors; there are, indeed, lines of blocks in the positions corresponding to the tiers of statues on the mahamandapa, but they are not in any instance sculptured, nor are

the mouldings of the base of the tower so rich and ornate as those at the base of the mahamandapa walls; besides these points of difference, the place where the mahamandapa and antárala walls join is so well marked constructively, that I cannot but consider the mandapa and the other richly sculptured portions to be additions subsequently made to a previously existing plain small temple, consisting solely of the antárala and sanctum. It is possible, as tradition asserts, that the temples here were never finished, and the incongruity may be due to this.

The tower over the sanctum is formed and shaped like the generality of stone towers, of a gently curvèd pyramidal outline externally, converging to a small circle crowned by an amalaka; the construction, however, is like that of brick towers; the opening over the entrance is really spanned by overlapping stones, the rent thus extending a long way up the face of the tower; this was doubtless done to relieve the architrave; usually, the tower walls over the architrave are built solid right up, leaving only the openings for admission into the one or two tiers of chambers; the face of the tower externally does not, however, show this great rent, but only the usual small entrance; this is effected by a thin veneer, as it were, of stone, covering the great rent externally; it is, however, in this case quite visible internally from the sanctum, as the roof of intersecting squares over it has tumbled in, leaving a clear view right up to the apex of the internal hollow of the tower. The tower is as usual built of stones without cement laid on each other, and each course slightly overlapping the edge of the previous one till the opening is quite closed.

The superior limit to the age of the temple is fixed by its inscriptions; there are only 2 mutilated lines: each is cut in the space separating two of the many scenes. One opens with Swasti Sri, the rest of the line mutilated; the other ends with Nripati, the previous name being mutilated; so that in both we lose the important part, *viz.*, the name; the characters are those of the 10th century.

Close to the corner of this temple, and to its north-west, is a small temple profusely sculptured externally, and dedicated to Vishnu; it faces north, and consists of only a cell and entrance.

Close to this to its east lie the remains of a larger one.

At the south-west corner of the great temple described above is a small plain temple: also Vaishnavic, the sculptured figure over the entrance being Ráma or Parasuráma;

but the absence of the great axe of Parasuráma inclines me to consider the statue to represent Ráma; the figure holds a bow. Brahmá and Sivá are sculptured on the two sides of the central figure; the temple consists only of a cell and attached antárala like the usual run of such small temples; it faces west.

There are lying about numerous fragments, some belonging to the temples now dilapidated and ruined, some cut to be put on the great unfinished temple not yet described: to the east of, and in front of the great temple already described, are traces of a small temple, probably of either Varaha or Hanuman.

Close to the remains of this temple, and to its east, stands a colossal male statue; it is mutilated, but it had two feet resting on two elephants, and there are two other elephants at the two sides. Can it have been meant for a statue of Indra? from its size it is clear that it could not have belonged to the temple already described, nor to any small one. Could it have been intended for the great unfinished temple? or is it a relic of a temple equally great, now no longer in existence? This statue lies on the banks of a fine sheet of water about 1,000 feet square with stone gháts on the west and north banks. It is known as Bimbá Tál, and though some of the people call it Ráni Tál, that name is said properly to belong to another large tank close to this.

Although the tank is named Bimbá Tál, tradition denies distinctly that Bimbáji Bhonslá had ever anything to do either with the tank or the temples; the people, nevertheless, cannot give any reason why the name is Bimbá Tál, or what it means.

The banks, but more especially the north-west corner of the tank, is full of fragments, here are the remains of a large Saiva temple; not far from it are statues, an elephant, a varáha and others; the elephant is of the size of the Mahobá ones which belonged to the ruined temple on the island, and is one of many that probably served the same purpose, *viz.*, projected from the principal corners of the temple over the eaves and under the tower proper as they do still in the Khajuráhá temples; there are mounds also at the south-west corner of the tank, and a few statues.

It is clear that there were here numerous temples which have now quite disappeared; there must have been some among them little inferior to the great temples of Khajuráhá.

As a temple which, from its inscription, we know to belong to the 9th or 10th century still exists, and another temple traditionally said to be of the same date and unfinished also stands nearly uninjured, it is not unreasonable to consider that those that have perished were older; this, however, is merely a suggestion.

The great unfinished temple stands on a large oblong terrace; the external walls of the terrace, up to the point where the sloping backs of the seats should be, appear to have been completed: but now the entire of the uppermost course and portions of the lower have entirely disappeared; the external face of the revetment of the terrace was ornamented in a way similar to those of the Khajuráhá temples, of which the only portion now existing entire there is the portion round the Rámachandra temple. The upper surface of the terrace appears never to have been brought up to its final level by smooth slabs laid on evenly, but the entire rough filling-in appears complete; over the rough filling, as it now exists, two layers of cut-stone, each 10 inches thick, would be needed to bring it up to the proper level; several hollows due to sinkage and settlement are to be seen, not of serious importance to a floor, but of vital importance if any walls had been built on those spots.

The filling-in is done, in short, in a manner that would be considered disgraceful were the work done by the existing Public Works Department, but it has been the fashion to praise up, beyond their deserts, ancient buildings, simply because they are ancient, and in the natural course of things this must always be so, for distance lends enchantment, softens down disagreements, and finally allows none but the very best of the works executed to be seen by us, the inferior ones having in the course of ages entirely disappeared; and yet the state of preservation of the unfinished temple here leads to the inference that the work here is by no means inferior to the usual run of such works elsewhere, of which, by reason of the external veneer of cut-stone, we cannot examine the interior.

The temple consists of a cell only; it is profusely sculptured outside with statues as at Khajuráhá, but without any obscenity; the tower is only half, or rather less than half, finished, and is also profusely sculptured right up to the top as far as finished; it appears that the building and the sculpture went on simultaneously; the walls consist of rubble loosely thrown in between the cut-stone faces of a skeleton wall,

so that in the admirably finished temples which we praise so highly, the walls are really very shaky things with fair exteriors; the great size and weight of the rubble filling alone gives them such stability as they possess, for no portion of it is due either to careful bonding or careful interior work.

The sanctum internally has plain walls and pillars up to the architraves, which are surmounted by a dome of overlapping stones; the entire portion above the architraves is highly and richly sculptured.

The architrave over the entrance shows Vishnu as the central figure with Brahmá and Sivá at the sides as subordinate figures; the temple therefore was intended to be Vaishnavic; it faces east.

Although only the sanctum is built, and there are no remains of a mahamandapa or other buildings in front, there can be no doubt that a mahamandapa was intended to be added, as there is space left in the sculptured walls to join on the walls of the mahamandapa, and in the immediate vicinity a few stones by way of guide stones for the position of its foundations, in immediate contact with the sanctum, have been laid; from the style of the sculpture on the front pillars or pilasters of the sanctum, which would, on the addition of the mahamandapa, form a part of *its* walls, it is evident that this temple was meant to have had a series of sculptures adorning the interior, similar to the series in the smaller temple noticed before.

The sanctum contains no enshrined statue, but the throne or singhásan for it exists ready; it faces east.

Tradition says that the temples here and at Seorináráyan were begun simultaneously, and were rivals for the favor of the deity, each being pushed on with the utmost vigor towards completion, as the god, it was declared, would take up his residence in the one first finished; the Seorináráyan temple won the race, Náráyana took up his abode there, and these temples were abandoned and left in their unfinished state.

The sculptures in the large temple show that it belongs to the same period as the smaller one noticed before, *i. e.*, to some time after the 9th century.

Sixteen miles due north of Janjgir and eight miles to the north-east of Báludá is said to be a cave in the hills; the cave is said to contain fine sculptures, pillars, &c. Accounts, however, vary greatly regarding this cave: while some say it is large, well executed, has light enough to see, and contains

fine sculptured remains; other accounts make it dark, low, unsculptured and even untouched by art, the entrance to be a long narrow passage which has to be threaded in a crawling posture, where to turn is impossible; the cave, when reached, is found to be large, and is *supposed* to contain endless statues, but is pitch dark; one point is certain, that a cave exists, and it is not impossible that the varying accounts refer to two caves; the cave is at present occupied by a holy mendicant who resents all attempts to penetrate the secrets of his cavern, and I considered it prudent not to waste my time in going to the spot, for even if the cave were worth a visit, the holy man would prove an insuperable obstacle to a close acquaintanceship with the interior of it.*

BACHHAUD.

At Bachhaud, five miles to the west of Báludá, and about fourteen north-west of Janjgir, is a fort, said to be of stone and brick with an arched gateway still in existence; the arched gateway is sufficient to mark the superior limit of its age, and there being nothing interesting in it, it was not visited.†

AKALTÁRÁ.

Ten miles or a little more due west of Janjgir, on the route to Biláspur, is the large village Akaltárá; here are endless fragments of cut and sculptured stone which are being carted in from the vicinity and from Kotgarh, three miles to the north, to build a Baniya's house.‡

On the outskirts of the village towards the north are numerous temples; those now standing, and permitted to stand, are uninteresting ones, dating to no distant past; they are built in the modern patch-work style of temples of bricks and older materials, and probably on ancient sites; the fine temples are, however, entirely demolished, and only their sites can now be pointed out; of these, the people say they remember three,—one in the city itself within a slight enclosure profusely sculptured with rows of statues on the exterior as at Khajuráhá or rather at Náráyanpur, and of about the same size; they are said to have been smaller than the great unfinished temple at Janjgir.

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* NOTE.—Since this was written, I have visited the cave, *vide* report, 1875-76

† Since this was written, an inscription has been found here, *vide* report 1875-76

‡ NOTE.—Since this was written, a fragment of inscription of great interest has been discovered by me when passing through in 1875-76, *vide* report, 1875-76.

KOTGARH.

The place mentioned above as Kotgarh consists of really two distinct places close to each other, named respectively Kot and Garh, or the citadel and the fort: the Garh is a square fort with earthen ramparts 50 feet high; there are remains within it of sculptured temples, but nothing now standing, and, as before said, the materials are now being used up at Akaltárá. There are two gates to the fort on the east and west; the west gate is standing, and has fretted arches; there is an inscription in the gateway in characters which resemble those of the 10th century, and the remains there must, therefore, be assigned to a period subsequent to the 10th century, but the existence of the fretted arched gateway would bring it down to modern times, and the conclusion can be avoided only by supposing the arched-way to be a later addition,—a by no means improbable supposition, for the fort is strong, and in the troubled times just preceding the Maharatta conquests, must have been a place of importance; tradition ascribes the fort to Jaya Sinha, a petty chieftain, subject to the Rajas of Ratanpur, and as the inscription mentions a Jaya Sinha without the title of Raja, I am willing to accept the tradition as in the main correct; tradition also makes the fort about 500 years old, which is probable, although I must say that richly sculptured temples like those that existed here are not likely to have been erected so late as the 14th century.

The fort abuts on its north against a natural low hill; the space within the fort is very confined from the great width of the walls at the base, which, being 50 feet high and of earth, necessarily take up a great deal of room; the Kot is on the north of, and close to, the hill mentioned.

Close to the place is the village of Mahamadpur; here is an inscription said by the Málguzár to have been brought from the ruins in the fort by stone-cutters to cut up for manufacture into dishes, but fortunately preserved by him; it is incomplete, the last portion with the date being worn or peeled off; in characters it resembles the inscription on the gateway of the fort and is subsequent to the 10th century; the *people* of the place, however, say that the inscription belonged to the temple on Jamaitál in Mahamadpur; the temple has entirely disappeared, leaving only a shapeless mass of ruins, whence all useful stone has been carried off, and I think this version of the original site of the inscription more likely to be correct than the Málguzár's story.

If, however, we accept the local tradition, and I must mention that tradition ascribes to the temples at Janjgir an age also of 500 years, we must ascribe the temples both here and at Janjgir to the 14th century, and although externally the latter are like the Khajuráhá temples, the innovation in the interior, in the introduction of historical or mythological continuous sculptured scenes, does point to some difference of age, and these temples must on that account be placed subsequent to the Khajuráhá temples, some of which date only to the 11th century, but in therefore ascribing these to the 14th century I fear the distance in time becomes too great, and I would willingly assign them to a century earlier at least, or the 13th century, *i.e.*, just after the time of the Muhammadan conquest of Upper India, which naturally would lead to many of the architects in Upper and Central India seeking shelter and patronage in the courts of Rajas not yet subdued by the Muhammadans.

KOTMI.

About six miles west of Akaltárá is a small village possessing a large tank and a fort; the village is known as Kotmi; the fort is a small square with high earthen ramparts, the ramparts are more than 40 feet high; there were two gates to the east and west in this fort, and a small one at the south-east corner, where the nala draining part of the interior finds exit; there is nothing of interest within or without, the mounds inside being the ruins of modern buildings.

GOTAURA.

Eight miles west-north-west of Kotmi is the large village Gotaura; here are numerous statues carefully executed and finished in black stone, and in excellent preservation; my enquiries for existing temples showed that none were standing, but there are the sites of several and numerous fragments of stone, plain and sculptured, almost entirely, except the statues, used up in modern huts and houses. I found no inscriptions, nor could I hear of any.

BILÁSPUR.

Biláspur, the present head-quarters of the district, is a town of modern growth, pleasantly situated on the south bank of the Arna River; here I found three inscriptions which had been brought in from various places in the district, besides some statues; the two larger inscriptions were being

despatched to Rayapura, *en route* for Nagpur, but through the courtesy of the Deputy Commissioner, Major Bloomfield, I was enabled to secure impressions of them before they started. One of these, dated Samvat 979, consisting of 28 lines in good preservation, is from Malhar; it opens with an invocation to Sivá. In the body of the inscription occurs the name of Ratna Deva, and there is mentioned a Kosámbi Nagara, probably the name of some village in the district; the inscription appears likely to be of interest.

The other inscription, also dated in 979, is said to have come from Ratanpur, but some say it originally came from Dhangaon; the centre of the slab, which is a large one, is worn quite smooth; it opens with an invocation to Sivá.

The third inscription is remarkable; it is on a reddish stone and is inscribed on *both* sides; the inscription is broken, and is now in two pieces; it is said to have come from Dhangaon, but there appears to be nothing certainly known as to the original location of inscriptions once they get moved out from their original sites.*

The inscriptions on both faces open with an invocation to Ganeça, and both appear complete; I can, however, see no dates in either.

Besides these inscriptions, one of the statues said to have been brought from Ratanpur is inscribed; it is a four-armed statue in black stone, coarsely executed and covered with oil; the inscription mentions a Srí Pratápa Sinha, either Raja or Ráwat.

The other statues are of no especial interest.

RATANPUR.

Ratanpur or Ratnapur is now a decayed city, full of dirty pools, marshes and decaying vegetation of all sorts, and must be very unhealthy: the remains here are few, and date mostly to recent times; the earliest remains hére consist of the ruins of one or more temples whose pillars and sculpture have been utilized in the adornment of the gates and posterns of the fort, and of the buildings in the palace known as Bádal Mahal; the sculptures are of the Khajuráhá type, and in two kinds of stone, one a reddish sandstone, and one a dark variety; the door-frame of a temple, richly carved, does duty as a postern in the fort walls; within the fort, a colonnade abutting against the interior

* I have since (in my tour in season 1875-76) ascertained beyond doubt that it came from the famous hill fort Kosgain.

face of the fort wall is composed entirely of ancient pillars, and the back wall is encrusted with ancient sculpture; all these are of the style of the Khajuráhá sculptures, and there is no want of indecency among them. Within the fort, was discovered an inscription, now partially broken, at the right-hand edges, but still tolerably entire and in good preservation; the stone lies exposed to the weather in the compound of the police station! It is dated Samvat 1207, and opens with an invocation to Sivá. I infer, therefore, that the temples which furnished materials for adorning the present fort walls, &c., dated to about the middle of the 12th century, A. D., thus agreeing with the presumed date of the ruins at Kotgarh and Janjgir; but as Ratna Deva who, is, supposed on good grounds, to have founded Ratnapura, certainly lived prior to the end of the 10th century, it is possible that some of the remains belong to his period. What particular fragments of the sculpture belong to his time is, however, now not possible to tell, nor is it of any importance; this much is certain, that no structures of his period or even of the period of the later temple-building Rajas in the middle of the 12th century exist now at Ratnapur; archæologically, apart from the inscription and the fragments of sculpture that still exist, Ratnapur is of no interest.

The great inscription, dated 919, which was at Biláspur when I saw it, and is now probably at Nagpur, may have been found here, but I could get no information regarding its having been sent from here to Biláspur. Dhangaon, however, is said to have yielded inscriptions which were brought here and subsequently sent off to Biláspur.

The existing temples are entirely modern. I mention the principal ones:—

First, the temple on the hill: this is a white-washed structure, avowedly modern, and of the style of the temples at Ráyápura; it may be occupying an ancient site, and is possibly built of ancient materials; the materials, however, are quite plain, and there is nothing to show they are ancient; in the temple are two inscriptions, one scratched on the doorstep in two lines, and one on a pillar, of five lines in modern characters. In the temple is a statue of Bimbaji Bhonslá, to whom the temple is ascribed.

There are some minor temples and ruins of modern temples on the hill.

In the city, the oldest temple is that known as the Mahámái temple; this is also modern, and built in the style of

the modern temples; here are two inscriptions, from one of which I infer the temple to belong to about the time of Báhirsáhi Deva, whose probable period of reign the Gazetteer gives as from 1506 to 1536, A. D.; the other and larger one opens with a Saivic invocation, and is dated Samvat 1552.

Close to the Mahámái temple is the Kanthi Dewal, with an inscription which is in modern characters, and opens with an invocation to Sivá. There are numberless other temples in various stages of decay: all modern, all very dirty, and all devoid of interest and unworthy of visit; dirty tanks, one or two lined with masonry and stone revetments, are scattered everywhere, full of foul-smelling greenish water and weeds; near the Mahámái temples are a few fragments which appear Jaina; of these, a large seated figure has the snake symbol. In the city I saw two fine small statues, which may have been Saivic or Vaishnavic: probably the latter.

Ratnapur is said anciently to have been known as Manipur, and Manikpur, and to have been the scene of some of the stories related in the Mahábhárata: it need not be added that this is an assertion utterly devoid of foundation. There is not the least evidence that Ratnapur as a city was even in existence before the end of the 9th century or before Ratna Deva; the place is said to have contained 1,400 tanks, and this tradition may be correct, as the so-called tanks are some of them merely duck ponds; the inhabitants are severely afflicted with goitre and swellings in various parts of the body, and it is rare indeed to see a permanent resident of the place with a healthy look; all are sickly, and the town wears a look of decay and squalid wretchedness unrivalled in the district, and only parallelled by Wyragarh in the Chándá district.

JUNÁ SHAHAR.

Close to Ratanpur is Juná Shahar; here are the ruins of several buildings evidently of no antiquity; there is a large tank in the vicinity picturesquely situated at the foot of the hills. On the hills are a few temples, none of great antiquity and none of interest.

Two large tanks,—one at the south-west end at the gorge of hills near the approach to the city from Ratanpur, the other to the north,—are noticeable for their masonry (stone) revetments and ghâts; on the banks of both are temples, not ancient; one of the temples on the northern tank named Kanhár Juni has three inscriptions let in; there are a few

others, all dating to within the last few years. The Kanhár Juni is the best tank in the place and the only one whose water may be drunk without the certainty of a swift attack of illness.

PÁLI.

Twelve miles to the north-east of Ratanpur is the small village Páli; here, at the extreme south-west end of the city, is a fine large tank with the remains of several temples on its banks. Of these, all but one are mere heaps of stones, and all except one appear to have been small—the one that is still standing is also partially ruined; the mahamandapa has indeed its roof standing, but not entire: some of the stones have got broken, and on the exterior, the outer layers have entirely disappeared; the heaps of loose stones lie at the foot of the walls and render it impossible to secure a plan; but though an accurate plan cannot be obtained, the temple clearly was a complete one in the style of the Khajuráhá ones, or rather more exactly like the great temple at Sohágpur to be described further on; there are projecting windows in the sides of the mahamandapa with sloping back-rests as there and at Khajuráhá; the roof of the mahamandapa is supported by pilasters disposed as in the Sohágpur temple and without the four central pillars which are to be seen in the Khajuráhá temples; the roof consequently is of greatly more imposing dimensions than those at Khajuráhá, the clear span being 18 feet, which is tolerably large for a dome of overlapping courses as at Sohágpur; the mahamandapa here also has had extra pillars added in front, in line with the side pilasters of the sanctum entrance, to support an architrave which had failed; these pillars are not of a kind with the others, and are quite out of place, hiding the exquisite carving behind, on the sides of the entrance of the sanctum.

The dome of the mahamandapa consists of courses of concentric fretted circles each smaller than the next lower course until at the top one small circle with a pendant closes the opening; the circle rises from an octagon formed by cutting off the corners of the square diagonally by massive architraves from pilaster to pilaster; each tier of the overlapping courses of the dome is richly fretted and coved, the whole arrangement forming a hemisphere of semi-circularly hollowed niches, each enshrining a small seated figure with folded hands; the lowest course alone represents a series of figures in various attitudes, and "running into each other

in happy confusion;" below this is the octagon ornamented by the usual geometric patterns and lotus leaves. It does not appear that here, as is often the case elsewhere, any figures rose up from pilasters or corbelled projections to support and adorn the roof: the roof of the sanctum is circular, formed of overlapping courses; so is the roof of the portico; all others are flat. The pilasters are carved and ornamented, but the walls are quite plain; on the walls, in three distinct places, is engraved in very deeply cut characters the name of Sriman Jájalla Deva; the inscription consists of a single line, from which I ascribe the construction of the temple to Jájalla Deva.

On the window seat at the south side is engraved three lines, evidently a pilgrim's record of worship paid here; the pilgrim was a jogi named Magara Dhwaj, the number 700 follows the name, but as there is no Samvat mentioned, I doubt if it be a date at all; even if it be, it cannot be 700 of the Vikrama era, for Jájalla Deva from the list of kings in the Central Provinces Gazetteer, page 89, which has fairly stood the test of inscriptions in the portion here applicable, gives a Jájalla Deva as reigning between 950 and 990 A.D., and the inscriptions discovered make him the father of Ratna Deva. The temple, therefore, dates to the latter half of the 10th century at most, and could not have been visited by the jogi in 700, but the date, if date it be, may be intended for one thousand and odd, the odd units figure having since got worn away.

Externally, the tower of the sanctum has 3 principal faces as usual; the quadrants between the back and side faces are broken up into 5 rectangular projections, of which the centre one marking the corner is the principal; the mouldings are deep, bold and richly sculptured, and the two rows of statues running round are well executed and superior to the usual run of such sculptures in subject, design and in execution, there being no indecent figures; unfortunately, a thick coat of plaster and white-wash nearly fills up the hollows, and the delicately carved figures are only partially visible where time and weather, combined with the shock of falling blocks from the upper portions of the tower, have rubbed away the coating; the figures are small, smaller than usual, in a reddish stone, well and carefully executed and probably once polished; the sculptures inside appear also to have been polished.

The upper portion of the tower has lost its courses of sculptured stone-facing, and now rises bare and rugged crowned by the amalaka; the roof of the mahamandapa is equally bare, and generally the exterior of the temple has suffered much.

The temple is situated on a small raised platform, and is probably built on cell foundations, as several parts sound hollow; the sanctum has been dug up, doubtless, in search of treasure from the hollow sound its floor gave when struck, and is now a mass of confused stones. The temple faces east, and was Saivic, Sivá himself being sculptured over the entrance, while Brahma and Vishnu are at the sides; an argha lies loose in the sanctum; steps led from the portico in front to the tank which faces it; there are no traces of mortar or plaster except the external coat already noticed, and which was even extended to the interior, but the inner layer appears to have been applied only to the plain walls, and being thin, has quite peeled off.*

CHAITMA AND MANIKPUR.

Páli is usually known as Chaitma Páli. Chaitma is a small village about 8 miles to the east by a little north of Páli, but though associated in name with Páli, it contains absolutely no remains of antiquity. The small village of Manikpur also contains nothing of interest.

LAPHAGARH.

Twelve miles to the north of Páli is the great fort of Láphá—the strongest natural fort I have seen this season, and one of the strongest in India. The road lies through Tartuma or Tayetma, the present head-quarters of the Láphá Chief; beyond this city, the road becomes, after a short distance, exceedingly difficult and utterly impassable to any but foot passengers and cattle; it is in short a mere track over the hills, densely covered with low jangal and moderate-sized timber; the road does not go straight to the fort, but winds round *viá* Bágdara village entering the fort at the north-west end; the last portion of the ascent is utterly impracticable even for all but *very lightly* laden small cattle, and the last ascent is very

* NOTE.—Since this was written, I heard in my tour during 1875-76 of two inscriptions found in the temple ruins here, one of which is said to have been clandestinely carried off by the Chief of Lakhanpur, and cannot be found; the other is said yet to be lying near the temple, but my efforts, backed by promises of reward, failed to procure a copy of it or even reliable information about it, and I fear, therefore, it was mythical; I could not visit the place myself.

steep, but not long; the greater part of the ascent is commanded from the fort walls; passing an outer gate, the real gate of the fort, known as the Jhandi or Dindá gate, is reached; this gate consists of a square block, having chambers at the sides opening into the central passage, at the two ends of which are the gates; the chambers are not merely guard-rooms, but serve as temples, also, if not exclusively; they consist of oblong halls supported on three rows of pillars; the inmost row being next the back wall consists of pilasters, the others are pillars. The pillars are plain square ones, ornamented only with plain mouldings; they are elegant, and the mouldings, though plain, are well defined and sharply cut; the material is a grey sandstone for the most part; there are now a few fragments of statues and sculptures lying about, which show that Sivá was worshipped here; the bracket capitals of the pillars are elegant, and support plain architraves, over which are slabs laid flat from the roof; the roof is quite flat, but is now in disrepair.

The outer gate above mentioned, after passing which this gate is reached, is connected with the main gate by outworks; these consist simply of walls of no great thickness; but as the sides of the projecting spur of tableland, at the extremity of which the gate is placed are vertical, there is no possibility of storming the connecting walls; the outer gate is also double, its outer entrance being at right angles to its inner; it will thus be seen that the last portion of the ascent runs parallel to the line of fort-walls and below them, and is quite exposed to missiles of every kind; it is also narrow and is, in fact, cut on the almost vertical side of the hill.

The fort walls are very irregular, following the direction of the edge of the plateau of the hill; sometimes the wall is built of cut-stone, sometimes of rubble; I could see no reason for this, but it is to be remarked that, close to the gates, the walls are faced with cut-stone: following the edge of the plateau the walls go on undulating according to the level of the ground they stand on, till they reach a pass between the Láphá hill and another adjacent isolated hill, known as Ráni tonk; the pass is a narrow ridge with very steep sides and only 100 feet wide at the narrowest for a length of about 200 feet; here, at the inner end of the pass, is built the 2nd gate known as the Manká Dai gate; beyond this gate to the right the walls are continued along the edge of the pass to the other hill, round which it goes;

to the left, the walls are also continued along the edge of the pass, but at a short distance there is a break, and beyond it the walls go on to the other hill as on the right with which it encircles the hill; the portion of the wall on this or Láphá side of the break doubles sharp round at the break and runs a short way parallel to its former direction down the slope; to a little bit of what is, perhaps, an artificially led level ground, the portion of wall beyond the break is also continued downwards at its nearer end parallel to the course of the other wall at only 25 or 30 feet distance till it also reaches the little bit of level ground; here the two meet in a gate, which has now, however, quite disappeared, and whose existence was unknown to the villagers, who, accordingly, were much amused by my apparently objectless examination, till the sill of the defunct gateway was turned up: as will be evident from the description, here too, not only the last portion of the ascent to the outer double gateway, but even part of the passage between it and the upper double gateway, is commanded by the walls of the fort: the lower gateway forms an entrance into the Ráni tonk plateau directly, and into the Láphá plateau through the inner gateway; this last serves thus the double purpose of a separating gate between Ráni tonk and Láphá, and of a gate to Láphá.

The Manká Dai inner double gate faces north, and in plan is similar to the gate described before, but the statues here are in better preservation; there is a fine statue of Manká or Manyá Devi let into the wall in a niche, and the gate is altogether in better preservation; the outer double gate below has no name, and no remains exist except a few fragments now buried in a shapeless tumulus.

The next gate is known as the Hukrá gate; it is near the south end of the hill on the east side; here, as in the two previous entrances, there are two gates, each double; the lower gate is larger than usual, and is ornamented with statues, one of which is of Lakshmi; the pillars are fine ones, and form colonnades on either side, the passage between which, of course, was the passage into the fort; this passage appears from the instance in this gate to have been also roofed over as well as the colonnades; the roof slabs are large and broad: (some of them could not have been less than 15 feet square by about 10 inches deep); passing through this outer gate, the road goes up parallel to and below the line of fort-walls, and is cut out of the side of the hill, itself very steep,

and is commanded the whole of the way between the two gates and for a long distance beyond the outer gate; the sides of the hill which the road in descending skirts are almost vertical, and utterly impossible to climb except where growing trees lend a helping hand up; the road beyond the outer gate, outwards, is cut in the side of the rock; it never was wide, and is now reduced in places to a mere bridge of not 6 inches in width, whilst in places there is absolutely a yawning chasm.

The upper gate is very fine, and superior to the other two; it is now in ruins; it was like the others a double gateway, with colonnaded halls on either side of the central passage between the entrances; the outer door is flanked by statues, and the walls on either side have been formed into niches for the reception of statues: there are three of these on each side, but on the left-hand side on entering, two of the niches only are now occupied by statues; one of these is a six-armed female seated on a lotus, holding in the only existing hand a dish; the other is a three-headed and six-armed female; a fragment of Ganeça lies below; there are other fragments with the tiger as *váhan* on the pedestal; the doorway itself is 5 feet wide, and was once provided with doors working on pivots, opening inwards and closed by a beam working into holes in the jambs behind the door; inside on either side were deep recesses or chambers now destroyed: then comes the inner doorway of the double gate; on the fort face of the inner wall in which this doorway is, are 3 niches on each side as on the outer face, and similarly occupied or intended to have been occupied with statues; these last are now partly broken, and partly buried beneath the ruins. One was an elephant or pig-faced female, holding a noose in the only existing hand, the other five having been broken short off; another six-armed female holds a sword in the existing hand; she has the elephant for a symbol on her pedestal; there are numerous fragments besides, among which is a Ganeça and a Hanuman; the last, however, from its coarse execution, is evidently of a later age.

The three gates lead, the first two down to Bágdara village, the last down to Surká village; there is no gate due south facing Tartumá.

The hill rises with steep slopes all round from the bottom to within a few feet of the tableland which then rises up with vertical rock faces, often above 50 feet in height, and everywhere perfectly vertical; there are a few points where

a cleft or fissure in the vertical wall of rock is filled with clay in which a few trees have taken root, but these are few and far between. I only remarked two such spots, and at one of them I descended, but the descent was only possible with the aid of the growing trees. From Tartumá or Bágdara, or indeed from anywhere, the fort presents an appearance of being surrounded by gigantic walls of masonry, the wall of rock, at a distance, looking precisely like artificial masonry; ascent, except at the gates, which are jealously guarded, is simply impossible, except spikes be driven into the wall of rock to serve as ladders; the hill is not commanded within ordinary effective range of guns by any adjacent hills. Within the plateau of the Láphá hill rises up a smaller hill, on which, however, are no remains, nor is it separated from the great fort and formed into a citadel by any enclosing walls; this hill is the highest for a long distance round, and a survey station now crowns its summit; the portion known as Ráni Tonk rises higher than the plateau of the Láphá hill, but is lower than the top of the hill within it. The hill Ráni Tonk is even stronger than Láphá hill naturally, as its walls of rock are higher; the strongest parts of the fort are the south and south-west sides, where there rise up two tiers of vertical rocky walls shaped fantastically into towers and from a distance conveying the impression of artificial works.

The artificial walls themselves are very weak, and appear intended merely as cover for troops, the real ramparts being the natural rock walls; it is said that during the mutiny some of the rebels took possession of the unguarded fort and began putting it into a state of defence, and a few miserable embrasures for cannon are to be seen rudely formed near the Manká Dai gate, but tradition does not say what finally became of them. I have a strong suspicion they were starved out of the place.

The sides and top of the hill are covered with jangal interspersed with moderate-sized timber; the plateau itself is pretty open, being mostly covered with tall grass.

Close to the Singh Dwár is a temple; the temple is built of cut-stone set without cement, remarkably plain, but not ugly; it is small, and is built in the style of the temples at Wyragarh, that is with a mahamandapa open all round to within a couple of feet of the floor; it is, however, very large, being supported by five rows of pillars, the back row being pilasters, and one row, the front row, being dwarf

pillars: there are five pillars in each row; the temple has the ardha mandapa, the mandapa, the mahamandapa, and the sanctum, the antárala, if it can be said to exist, being squashed up into non-existence between the overgrown mahamandapa and the sanctum; the sanctum is an usual square, and enshrines a statue of Durga slaying the buffalo demon. Ganeça occupies the centre of the entrance architrave; the temple faces east; the pillars and indeed everything here is perfectly plain; the external mouldings are bold, but peculiar and quite plain; the material is a coarse-grained soft sandstone, easily rubbed into a white powder; the sanctum has a roof of intersecting squares, surmounted externally by the usual tower roof; the temple stands on a raised platform and the entrance is reached by steps in front.

Close to the temple is a tank, rather shallow and much choked with grass and weeds; it is named the Pát Taláo.

The temple is looked after in a negligent sort of way by the Láphá Chief, who once a year pays it a visit at or just after Sivá Rátri; when I left Láphá he was being expected, and a hut had been put up near the temple for his accommodation.

The plateau of the hill is not inhabited; the only accessible villages are Bágdara and, by descending to the west as I did down the face of the cliff, Jámira; Surká village is far off to the east and is separated from the fort by minor hills.

CHHATTISGHAR.

From Láphá I went to Amarkantak; but before taking leave of Chhattisgarh, it may not be out of place to refer to the legend which derives the name Chhattisgarh from thirty-six forts.

The thirty-six forts are given in the Gazetteer in two columns, headed respectively by Ratanpura and Ráyapura: we know now that Ráyapura dates from a very recent period, and that from the founding of Ráyapur the whole of the thirty-six forts have never been under a single Ruler; it therefore appears that, even if it be admitted that all the forts were under one Ruler at any time after the rise of Ráyapura, the name Chhattisgarh cannot be ancient; in short, the legend bears on the face of it the impress of being an invention, for Sirpur must long have ceased to exist as a place of importance when Ráyapura rose to eminence, and Sirpur and Kharod and Râjam and Khalari have, to say the least, very

doubtful claims to the title of garh or fort; doubtless many others in the list would, on examination, turn out to have equally doubtful claims, but I speak now of what personal knowledge leaves me in no doubt about. I therefore reject the legend as a modern invention to account for the name.

The real name is not Chhattisgarh but Chhattisghar. When I was in Bihar, and long before I had any notion of visiting this district, and I must confess did not even know of its existence, I heard a tradition saying that long ages ago, about the time of Jarâsandha, 36 families of Chamárs (leather-workers) emigrated southwards from Jarâsandha's kingdom and established themselves in a country which after them is called Chhattisghar. Neither my informants nor I at the time knew of the existence of a real Chhattisghar, and I looked upon the legend as an idle tale, or at best as one which could not be made to apply to any known locality; in vain I made minute enquiries as to the names of districts; I got no clue; here, however, is a Chhattisgarh, south, too, of Magadha, and, what is of the utmost importance as confirming the tradition, inhabited mainly by the Chamár caste, who further speak a dialect which resembles, even in the colloquial terminations and abbreviations, the dialect now spoken in Bihar; and more than this, the very costume of the people and their physique are identical with, and nearly similar to, those of Bihar.

Entering the district from the south-west, the difference of the people to the west and to the east of the great fort of Tipágarh struck me irresistibly; to the west were people speaking the Nágpuri dialect of Hindi, resembling to some extent the people of Bundelkhand, and to some extent the Maharatta-speaking people in appearance; and in costume, both of men and women, resembling either the Bundelkhandis or the Maharattas, the women for the most part wearing petticoats, or dhotis, rarely the sári as it is worn in Bihar, the few that do so being known as "Purbias" or "eastern"; to the east of Tipágarh, my astonishment, and not mine alone, but of my servants also (natives of Bihar mostly) was extreme in hearing the familiar language of Bihar, and seeing the familiar dress; the physique, however, did not differ much from those in the adjacent western district, but yet the women were perceptibly more delicate both in shape and structure of skin; the change was not gradual. Two days' hard march through uninhabited, or at least very thinly peopled forest, had suddenly brought my camp from

amongst people with whom dealings, owing to unfamiliarity with language, were difficult, to the midst of a people whose every word was well understood, and who at once by language proclaimed themselves of the same origin as my Bihar servants. Throughout the whole of Chhattisghar, the language and costume, as far as I have seen, is the same as in Bihar, except near the extreme east end, where Oriyá traces begin to appear, and at the extreme north-west where Bundilkhandi makes its appearance; the physique of the people towards the middle of Chhattisgarh resembles that of the Biharis, but especially in the case of women, and lastly the people are as hard-working as the people of Bihar, proverbially the most laborious in India, and contrast strongly with the lazy semi-Maharatta people of Nagpur, and with the timid and weakly people towards Orissa. It is worthy of note also that, although there is no scarcity of wheat in the district, the inhabitants, like the people of Magadha or Bihar south of Ganges, use principally rice for food.

When I say that the people of Chhattisghar resemble the people of Bihar or rather Magadha, for Bihar has now a very wide meaning, I do not mean to imply that either they or their prototypes are Áryans; the mass of the people in Magadha are not Áryans, and this is borne out by the legend which makes Jarâsandha in an emergency invest some of the people, his non-Áryan subjects, with the sacrificial thread; this is not the place, nor am I competent to enter into a discussion of the question, but I believe it will hardly be disputed that the mass of the people of India are not Áryans, though the ruling class, the high-caste Brahmans (not the Bhumia Brahmans), are; the Rájputs, there is reason to believe, are of Turanian origin, and the mass of the people, aborigines and not the descendants of Áryan immigrants.

AJMIRGARH.

Close to Amarkantak and about two miles to the north of it stands a semi-isolated hill fort known as Ajmirgarh; the fort stands on a hill at the east end of a spur running out from the great Amarkantak range; the ascent is from the west along the spur, and is not very difficult; the hill is high, but distinctly inferior to the main range in height and can be commanded from the opposite hill tops; the ascent on other sides is steep, but not impracticable; the walls are of rubble; there are no distinct gateways, or at

least I heard of none; tradition says the fort was never completed; the rock is scarped near the top but not throughout; the fort does not occupy the whole of the plateau on the hill, but only the highest portion; there are no towers or bastions and no outworks; the place is overgrown with jangal, and there are said to be no architectural remains inside.

AMARKANTAK.

Amarkantak enjoys a wide reputation as the source of the Son and of the Narbadá Rivers; here are always to be seen pilgrims from various parts of Northern India either going to Jagannath or returning thence, it being usual for them to pay a visit to it either on the onward or return journey; there are very few Dakhinis among the pilgrims to this place; it forms the extreme eastern peak of the Mahikal range of hills, and the place is mentioned as early as the time of Harsha Vikramâditya by his contemporary the famous Kalidasa in his Meghaduta or Cloud Messenger; in his poem it is named Amarakuta, and from the context which describes the course of the cloud from Ramagiri eastwards to "Mala's smiling ground" and "thence sailing north and veering to the west on Amarakuta's lofty ridges rest," it is clear that the high ridge of Amarkantak is meant; it is not necessary now to trace the course of the cloud further, though I would remark *en passant*, that the famous Chitrakuta does not from this poem of Kalidasa appear to be anywhere in the vicinity of modern Chitrkot but to be near Amarkantak. The objects of veneration at Amarkantak are the statues of Narmmadá Mái, the various Saivic lingams and statues and some Vaishnava ones, while the holy kund at the head of the infant river is considered all-powerful in washing away sins. Architecturally, however, there is but one temple deserving of interest, and that is the great deserted one known as the Karan Mandir and traditionally ascribed to Karnna Raja.

As it stands at present, it has the appearance of three distinct temples on one large raised platform, but this is due either to the great connecting mahamandapa having been destroyed, or never completed; it will be seen from the plan that there are three temples disposed on three sides of a square, the fourth side being unoccupied, and the platform at that end broken. The platform is not a square, but cruciform following the outline of the temples, but larger in every way so as to leave a bench all round: the projecting corners of the plat-

form at the angles of the three arms of the cross are now quite meaningless, but if we prolong the lines of the 3 temples in front of the entrances 10 feet, we will find that the inner space left permits of a square 25 feet in width being described, which will leave just the same bench between *its* walls and the platform square, as is now left by the temples between *their walls* and the edges of the arms of the cruciform platform. If, now, we suppose the thickness of the walls of this square so described to be the same as that of the existing projecting portion of walls or pillars in front of the entrances of the existing temples, or about 3¼ feet, we shall have a clear square of about 18½ feet in the centre as the clear space of what would then be the mahamandapa; the convenient size thus obtained being just what would not be too large for an overlapping dome, nor yet too small compared to the size of the sanctum, as will be seen on comparison with other examples of the ordinary type. The temple would then consist of three sanctums, three antáralas each 10 feet long, a great mahamandapa 18½ or 19 feet square, a mandapa equal to the antárala or 10 feet square, and an aradhamandapa rather smaller, and this temple would thus be the second specimen of the unique type of temple which exists at Makårbai near Mahobá: although at first sight this type is widely different from the ordinary type of Hindu temples, yet on examination it is found to be merely a slightly modified form of it, the window projections of the transepts being here replaced by antáralas on each side, and the windows themselves replaced by a door each, opening, however, not into the open air, but into a sanctum equal and similar to the principal sanctum. The superb magnificence, however, of such a temple with its 3 tall and profusely sculptured lofty towers of graceful outline can only be realized by actual sight; unfortunately, the only complete existing example I am aware of at Makårbai is small, and so confined within a mass of huts, as to render even a good view, embracing the whole, impossible, and a photograph impracticable, besides which, that temple is buried under accumulations of rubbish to a depth of about six feet.

This temple, therefore, is singularly interesting for its size and design, and it is a thousand pities it never was completed; the mouldings are bold and elegant, but perfectly plain, as is in fact the whole temple; the little carving that exists is confined to the upper portions of the towers, and is merely of the plain horse-shoe type, of which a fine example is the

smaller Jain temple at Khajuráhá, but here it is not so rich nor so deep, and portions are even merely marked with the chisel in outline and not cut, proving that the temple has been left unfinished; the triple row of plain projecting blocks over the basement mouldings were no doubt intended to be cut into statues as at Khajuráhá; some of the blocks have even a little unmeaning shallow carving on them, either the first outlines of statues for the guidance of the sculptors, or attempts of some after age at completion of the temple.

The towers rise up with a curved outline; the curve is not of the type of the Sripur brick temple or the Barâkar type of Bengal; it is of the Khajuráhá or Northern India type. A discussion of the types will be found in a separate paper; here it is enough to notice the type of the tower as one more of the evidences which places this temple within the Northern or rather Central India class, and not among the eastern class of temples; the projecting entrance in front has, as usual, the projecting gable roof which here is straight-sided and not curved, as is sometimes the case; there is the usual small entrance in it, vertically over the great entrance into the sanctum below, and giving access to the chamber over the flat roof of the sanctum, for here, as elsewhere, universally, in stone temples, the sanctum has an inner roof of intersecting squares within the tower roof. Internally the temples are perfectly plain; the material is a coarse, hard reddish conglomerate; the architraves of all the sanctums have the lotus as a symbol carved on the centre; the principal sanctum once had a statue, as there are fragments of what I suspect was the pedestal or singhasan still *in situ*; now, however, a large lingam and argha are set up in the centre; the argha is clumsily set into the floor; it is broken on the left and north side; a gargoyle projects from the outer face of the tower to let out the water of libations; the gargoyle does not deliver the water openly, but resting on a dwarf hollow pillar and pierced with an outlet at the bottom over the hollow of the pillar it delivers the water into the hollow of the pillar, and thence underground away to a distance; this is the only sanctum that has this gargoyle, the others are without outlets for water; they also now enshrine lingams set in arghas, but I doubt if such was their original purpose.

This is the oldest existing temple in the place; it is deserted, or, to speak more correctly, neglected; a few pilgrims visit it and place offerings of flowers on the Saivic emblems,

but they are rare; the body of pilgrims do not visit it, at least with offerings.

No. 2.—Two hundred feet to the north of this is a half-ruined temple, consisting simply of a cell with a portico; the portico is supported on sixteen pillars, or rather fourteen pillars and two pilasters at the jambs of the entrance to the sanctum; the portico is roofed in compartments; each compartment of the roof in the outer row has over it a small chamber, and in the inner row two such, one over the other, thus the external form of the entire roof is a pyramid; the chambers have not, or rather were not meant to have, entrances, and were only the constructive expedients used in order to give to the roof, externally, the appearance of a large pyramidal roof of the style over the Varáha or Nandi temples of Khajuráhá; the tower roof over the sanctum has fallen in; the sanctum had the inner roof of overlapping, not intersecting, squares: the temple faces east. Ganeça is carved over the entrance; the temple is greatly more recent than the great Karnna temple, and both material and execution are coarse; mortar has been used sparingly, but whether originally or subsequently by way of repair, I cannot certainly tell.

To the east of this temple is a great oblong rubble and mortar building used probably for the accommodation of pilgrims, now roofless and deserted; it was in two stories, and some of the wooden beams still exist.

Nos. 3, 4, 5.—To the north of this are three small temples in a line; these are very small and consist of only a cell each with small tower roof; the central one is enveloped in a bat tree; all of them face west; inside the southmost one, is a statue of Hara Gauri; in one is a seated cross-legged figure of Sivá with his hands at breast, forming the symbol of the yoni as at Seorinárâyan; the figure has long pendulous ears with great earrings in them; the entrance sill has sculptured on the centre an indecent representation of the female emblem.

No. 6.—To the west of these is a large temple facing north, ascribed to the Bhonslás; it is well plastered over, but not whitewashed; to the west of this is another similar facing east; the two are joined together, forming a single temple by being made to open into a common mandapa, whose entrance faces east; Ganeça is over the doorway at east end; in the west sanctum is a four-armed statue, as also in the south one; the statues are fine ones.

No. 7.—To the north of this is another large temple; the mandapa or hall roofed as described for No. 2 temple; the hall is open all round to within a couple of feet of the floor and is supported on sixteen pillars, pilasters and dwarf pillars, of which only four are entire pillars; the bench running round has a sloping back-rest as at Wyragarh; the temple faces east, and has Ganeça sculptured over doorway.

No. 8.—To the east of this is a small half-ruined temple, consisting of only a cell and an antárala; the mandapa has, probably, disappeared long ago; this temple is probably old, judging from the execution, style and weathering of the stone; it faces north; the sanctum contains a four-armed female statue, said to represent Narbadá Mái; the female has for head-dress a tall tiara shaped like the tower roofs of the temple. She has two bearded munis on two sides; she has now only three arms left, the fourth having been broken short off: one holds a chaplet, one (the left lower) holds a water jar or milk can, and the left (upper) holds a lotus; on the pedestal, a bearded man is seated in the centre with two females fanning him with chauris, one on each side; the execution of the statue and the design are very good; it was polished and still retains the polish; the material is a dark stone with somewhat of a green tinge, but almost black; the upper portion of the slab above the head has been broken and no longer exists, so that we lose the exquisite tracery that must have enriched it and encircled the statue as in a frame; only two flying figures now remain as remnants of the upper portion.

No. 9.—Almost touching this temple and to its east, is another temple quite ruined, leaving the back wall and portions of side walls of the sanctum alone standing; the temple is similar in material, appearance and execution to the one last described; it faces east, and enshrines a four-armed male statue fully equal to the four-armed female statue in the last temple in excellence; the statue is now known as the statue of the Son River God, but it is undeniably one of Vishnu, holding in the four hands the sankh, the chakra, the gada and the lotus; to render assurance doubly sure, the fish and tortoise are sculptured on either side of the head; the pedestal has a figure similar to the seated crossed-legged figures of Seorinaráyan, and which I have there shewn to be Siva. This is curious, and I can give no explanation of it. Perhaps it is only meant to show the subordination of Siva to Vishnu; the material and execution of the statue and its polish are

similar to those of the last statue, and altogether this statue is a very fine specimen of Indian sculpture.

These two temples are the only ones that can be ascribed to an age, rivalling, if not surpassing, that of the Karnna temple; both, however, are too ruined to be of any use as illustrations of architectural art. I would, from the style of sculpture, assign to these temples an age little inferior to those of the temples of Sirpur and equal to the great Vaishnavic, or rather, as I understand it, the Aditya brick temple of Seorinaráyan.

No. 10.—To the east of this is a large temple of Mahadeva similar to No. 7 temple.

No. 11.—To the north of No. 8 temple is a small modern shrine.

No. 12.—To the north-west of this is a group of recently erected temples consisting of a central chhatri with two pairs of charanas, or foot prints, sculptured on stone in the centre; the surrounding temples are four in number containing statues of Hunumân, Ganeça, a coarsely executed figure of Sivá seated as at Seorinaráyan, and one of the four-armed Vishnu, the last a fine statue and probably borrowed from some older temple.

No. 13 —To the west of this is a small modern shrine.

No. 14.—At the north-east corner of No. 12 group is a small temple facing north of Mahádeo, with horse-shoe arched doorways.

Near the north end of this group of temples are the remains of a reservoir with pakka sides, which must once have been the holy kund of Narbadá, the ground slopes from a short way beyond Raja Karnna's temple; northwards, near the great temple, and to its north, in the blank space of 200 feet already noticed, may have been the first and original holy reservoir; the ground is low and favorably situated for the formation of a reservoir, but I saw no traces of pakka walls, which most probably are buried beneath the soil; then comes the mass of temples noticed, and then the reservoir now mentioned. It is now nearly full of earth, but there is a little water in it still in the hollows, and the earth inside is soft and evidently the accumulated deposit of a long time; it is now entirely disused, as indeed it must be, being almost dry.

Beyond this reservoir are the recent groups of temples, beginning with a solitary stuccoed small modern temple; to the north-west of this, about 200 feet distant, a similar one, and another 200 feet to the north-east of this one, is a large

temple facing east, and close to it another similar one; to the north of these is the present holy kund, or reservoir, with flights of steps and masonry revetments. This kund, as may be expected, is full of particularly dirty water, loaded as it is with the moral and physical filth from numberless pilgrims; a small trickling stream issues from a hole in the west wall of the reservoir and runs westwards, this is the Narbadá, which two miles further, falls over the descent of seventy feet in what is known as the Kapila Dhárá.

In the reservoir are three temples, or chhatris, one on four pillars open all round; all small, and all recent; on the east banks of the reservoir, are two small dirty temples, and behind them a third small but old temple, neglected and ruined, but yet the finest of *this* group.

To the west of the reservoir are two temples, with fretted arches in the veranda; these are quite modern.

On the northern banks of the reservoir are three small old-looking half-ruined temples, like the ruined one to the east; close to these is a small chaubutra with a lingam on top; to the east of the chaubutra is a modern small temple facing east; between this temple and the chaubutra is the main flight of steps leading down into the kund to the south, and leading up to the holy temples on the north; the road is paved throughout, and is flanked to the west by eight small temples containing a mixture of Vaishnavic and Saivic statues. Among the miscellaneous fragments on this side is a much worn inscription in a half-ruined small temple; a fine statue, three feet high, of an elephant; and a fragment of a horse two feet high; to the east of the road are ruins of temples and two half-ruined ones, containing statues of the seated cross-legged type, and forming with the hands the female symbol; one of these is inscribed in *modern* characters as Naráyana! So that when the inscription was cut, the statue was regarded as that of Naráyana; the characters however, are modern; it is in one line, of which the first portion is mutilated; as far as can be made out it reads Samtusi Naráyana.

The other inscriptions, besides the one on the steps, on the chaubutra, and the broken slab, are; one on a statue known as the Rewá Náyak statue in the chatri in the tank; this is a statue of Sivá with the hands at breast forming the female symbol; it is inscribed in modern characters Banijára Sri Rimságata, which is translated usually into Banjára—Sri Rewá Náyak; it is evidently the gift of a Banjára; one

on a similar statue in a small temple much worn, is merely a record of a worshipper; an inscription in three and a half lines on a similar statue, in one of the small temples, is dated Samvat 922 and reads Srimad Ratna purécha, &c., &c. Tasya Naráyana Nonámasta Nrivánushi Rajjena Tasyáyam Karita Murtti Soarup Malatulyatá.

It would appear from Spilsbury's account in the J. A. S., Vol. IX, that this statue used to be pointed out as of Rewá Náick some years ago—I quote the passage. "On the floor of an open temple is a small image which the Pandits assured me was that of Rewá Náick, a Banjára, to whom the goddess appeared in a dream and directed him to clear the site of the present kund, then a dense mass of bamboo jangal. The date S. 922 is very plain." It need hardly be added that this inscription has nothing to do with Rewá Náick, nor is any other; the one usually read as Rewá Náick's is an inscription by a Banjárá, but it is not dated and is in modern characters, and the name is not Rewá Náick. One inscription on a male statue armed with sword and shield is much worn, but is evidently a salutation to a deity; it opens with "Pranamati" and ends with "Mátá;" it is only one short line.

At the head of the roadway stands the great double temple of Narbadá Mái. This temple consists of two sanctums opposite each other, facing east and west and opening into a common pillared hall; of course I was not allowed to go in, but I am told that the eastern temple enshrines a female four-armed statue, like the one described in No. 8 temple, while the opposite one enshrines a female four-armed statue bearing a child; both temples are thickly covered with plaster, but notwithstanding this I have a strong suspicion that the west one alone of the two is old, though not very old.

Behind these are two small temples, half-ruined, completing this group.

Behind, and to the north of this group, flows the Savitri Nala; this nala is the real source of the Narbadá, as, where it joins the rivulet issuing from the kund, it is both larger and carries down a larger volume of water; it also drains a greater basin above the junction that the rivulet issuing from the kund does; the latter, indeed, only receives the drainage of an extent of country about ¾ mile long and about ⅛ mile broad, while the latter drains a very much larger area, the whole in fact, of the plateau to the east of the sacred temples, which, is higher than the plateau on which the temples are situated. On its nothern banks are three small old-looking

temples but of no particular interest; these are in a line with the temples described before. About ¼ mile due east of the group of holy temples, and in the drainage basin of the Savitri Nala, is a solitary half-ruined temple standing at the foot of the higher plateau. Close to it is a small mound of ruins of a small temple, and a few yards off a shallow pool, which once, however, must have been much larger; this place is said to have been the place where Malkandeo Rishi (Markandeya ?) Rishi performed his tapasya.

The Savitri Nala, above its junction with the Narbadá, and at a point just opposite to the east of the holy kund, is joined by another nala which drains the plateau to the S.-S.-E. and S.-W. of the main branch; however it is the Savitri Nala which comes from the east, the so-called Narbadá, above its junction with the Savitri Nala, is merely a tributary of the Savitri.

The legend of the marriage of the Son and the Narbadá, and the treachery of the Rohila, are well known and need not here be repeated; the pujâris of the temples here point to a small rivulet which falls down a sheer precipice of some 250 feet about 2 miles east of the kund as the Son; but this is clearly wrong; the rivulet which they call the Son really falls into the rivulet which is crossed in coming from Pendra to Amarkantak and which is a tributary of the great Mahánadi and runs south-east. It is separated by a long stretch of undulating country and several ridges from the drainage basin of the Son A few miles (3 or 4) from this place are said to be extensive caves in the rock at the spot where the nuptials of the Son and the Narbadá were to have been consummated. In these caves the Narbadá is said to have enjoyed herself in dances and revels with her attendant maidens. As, however, I could get nothing beyond a vague rumour of the existence of these caves, and no one seemed to know their exact location, I could not visit them even if they exist, which I doubt.

The Brahmans of Amarkantak, however, are fully aware of the physical difficulty in the way of identifying the rivulet they call the source of the Son with the veritable Son, and get over it by imagining a miraculous disappearance of the rivulet under ground, and its still more miraculous re-appearance at the spot where the Son first sees the light. When they thus ascend into the region of miracles, it is hopeless to try and follow them.

SON MUNDÁ.

The real source of the Son is, however, at Son Mundá between Pendra and Kenda; here is a long narrow valley between two parallel undulating ridges which finally meet about two miles south of the spot where the present road crosses the valley; this valley is marshy, and contains a succession of stagnant pools of water; at the point where the road crosses it, is a small bauli of masonry with several fragments of statues, some imbedded in its walls, others lying loose and heaped up on a small chaubutra close by. The bauli contains dirty, green, stagnant water, but is conventionally considered as the source of the Son, though really the line of marshy pools extends a long distance up the valley above the bauli. There is no doubt a temple once stood here, but whether Vaishnavic or Saivic it is difficult to tell, as the fragments will answer for both; possibly two temples united.

The female statue spoken of as being in the great temple, and which bears a child, is said to be the real statue of Narbadá Mái, notwithstanding that the child is an evident inconsistency with the fair fame of the holy river goddess as a virgin deity. The aborigines (Gonds) have a curious legend, indignantly denied by the Brahmans, to explain the presence of the child. The legend relates that when the river goddess was enjoying herself in the caves near the so-called falls of the Son, described above, the river god was himself also present, the maidens with their queen disported themselves naked, and permitted improprieties which resulted in the goddess giving birth to a child. The legend is evidently based on the Brahmanical legend and may be dismissed as a late invention.

There is, however, a different legend little known, which may be founded on an actual fact. The legend says that once upon a time, long ago, there was a gwalin living at Amarkantak; she had a beautiful daughter named Narbadá, whose duty it was, daily, to carry her father's breakfast to him in the fields where he tended his cattle; on the road was the asthân of a Jogi, and the girl on her way to, or back from, her father, used daily to spend some time in the Jogi's company. This continued for a long time, but at last the girl killed herself for some unexplained reason; the Jogi used to drink infusion of bhang; one day while in the act of drinking he heard of the death of the poor girl, the cup of bhang stuck to his mouth, he could not swallow the infusion,

and he died; a stream of water issued from his throat which is the Narbadá. A more probable variation in the version is that the girl finding herself likely to become a mother, committed suicide by throwing herself over the falls of Kapila Dhárá, hence the river in which she died has been named after her. The legend is indignantly denied by the Brahmans, but is current among the Gonds.

DHANPUR

About 5 miles to the north of Pendra, are the ruins of Dhanpur, from where numerous stones, statues and ancient fragments are being, and have long been brought to Pendra, which is the head-quarters of the Pendra Chief; the ruins are very extensive, covering nearly 4 square miles of ground; the great mass of the ruins are, however, compressed within an area of barely half a square mile.

On approaching the ruins, the first object of interest is the great tank known as the Bhautara tank; here are several fragments of sculpture; the tank is large, and has very clear water.

Half a mile to the north of the tank are several low mounds scattered about in scrub jangal; the first group consists of the ruins of 6 temples; half a mile to the west of this is a group of ruins of 4 temples, besides several smaller detached or isolated shrines close by; to the north of these is a long chain of tanks; these look vastly like the remains, filled up at intervals across, of a long moat, which once surrounded the city; immediately on the opposite banks of the line of tanks, is a long range of low natural rugged hillocks, like a line of artificial earthen ramparts, several of which are covered with mounds of ruins; one consists of a group of 4 temples, all large ones; of these, most, if not the whole, appear to have been Jain; not far from these is the tank known as Sobhnáth, on the margin of which are collected numerous Jain fragments; the banks of the tank are covered with an uninterrupted chain of ruins; there are Brahmanical fragments also to be seen lying about, but not among the ruins in the vicinity of this tank; this portion of the city appears clearly to have been exclusively Jain

Among the ruins mentioned before, Brahmanical statues are to be seen; the tank close to the ruins of the first group is called Katha talaó.

The temples were of brick and stone, and also exclusively of stone; the bricks used measure more than 14 inches long,

more than 9 inches wide and about 2½ or a little more in thickness; they are like the bricks at Sirpur.

There are no traditions whatever. The ruins now are so utterly denuded of all squared and dressed stone that could be used up, and of all statues, and even of bricks, that it is impossible to tell their age; the mounds have actually been dug into, to extract all the possible useful blocks that could be obtained; it is said, however, that the extent of ruins is very great, and no one knows or can point out all the mounds that exist, as they are all in dense scrub jangal; those that have been discovered and utilized are, of course, accessible, but if others exist, they are inaccessible. As, however, the only communicative villager I could find assured me that sometimes a fresh mound is stumbled upon by the village herdsmen or cow-boys, I think it probable, that there may still be untouched mounds in the deeper recesses of the scrub jangal; the whole of the ruins are scattered on a wide magnificent plain with gentle undulations; the plain is, however, covered with thorny scrub.

The only means of judging of the age of the temples here, now left on the spot, (*i. e.*) by the sculptures, shew, that they are far more recent than the Sirpur ones. I should assign them to a period not earlier than the 9th century of our era.

PIPARIA AND ANUPPUR.

At Piparia, about a mile to the S.-E. of Anuppur, are the remains of several small temples—consisting of single cells of a small size; the sites alone are now marked by the stones, the temples, as structures, having ceased to exist. There is a biggish tank close to, and to the S.-E. of Anuppur, on the margin of which are several ruins of temples, or rather the stones that once belonged to temples; no traces of the temples now exist beyond the sites marked by the stones, several of which are imbedded in the trunks and roots of pipar and other trees.

There are some statues in the village, but of no interest.

SÁMANTPUR.

A mile and half to the north of Anuppur is the small village of Sámantpur; here is a small temple, but I infer from the shallow style of carving on the entrance to the sanctum, and on the four central pillars, that the temple is not very old: the rest of the temple is quite plain, the entrance faces east, and has Gaṇeça sculptured on

the top sill; the pillars at the sides of the entrance of the sanctum have sculptured on them warriors on chariots, drawn each by two horses; the warriors are armed with bows and arrows; the wheels of the chariot appear solid; one of the compartments contains the figure of an elephant and rider; the rider sits on an elevated seat on the elephant and is evidently driving the elephant; he appears a person of rank; an attendant sits behind shading him with an umbrella; perhaps the sculpture represents Indra on his Airavat.

The mandapa, or hall, is open all round to within a couple of feet of the floor; the central pillars are rather curious, and are shewn in plate

JAMUI.

At Jamüi, 3 miles from Sohágpur, are the ruins of two small temples under a couple of fine mahua trees. One was Saivic, and the argha and lingam still exist entire. The other was Vaishnavic, shewn by a statue of Vishnu and Lakshmi on Garud; this is a fine piece of sculpture, it is 3 feet high and 2 broad. There are no traditions.

SINGHPUR.

Singhpur contains some ancient remains, and was visited by Captain Spilsbury, who says that there were some fine sculptures there, brought, it is said, from "Urjollee, a kos or two distant." The temple, he continues, from which they were procured, must have been a magnificent one; there are also the remains of a palace, the pillars of which were also brought from Urjollee (J. A. S. Vol. IX). I regret that I was not aware of this when I passed close to Singhpur from Anuppur. I could easily have gone *viâ* Singhpur to Sohágpur if I had known that there was any thing of interest to be seen; my own inquiries, however, shewed me that there was nothing ancient there.

SOHÁGPUR.

Sohágpur is a large place and the head-quarters of a Subah: the modern city consists of a collection of huts disposed in the form roughly of a great cross, of which the palace occupies nearly the centre; the palace is a heterogenous mass of buildings disposed round an open courtyard; the whole is built partly of brick and partly of stone, the latter being almost entirely taken from older structures; all the pillars employed, and there are many both

in the lower and upper storeys, are exclusively taken from ancient temples, and, as may be expected, are of very varying forms and dimensions. I could only see them from a distance, as the Chief's zenanah is located in the palace, and, of course, all close approach to it is out of the question. Independently of this, however, my presence in Soháǵpur, now a part of the Raja of Rewah's dominions, was looked upon suspiciously, and parwanas, or passports, were demanded from such of my servants as had gone to the city to search for inscriptions and remains of antiquity; not having any passports or parwanas I thought it expedient not to prosecute my inquiries too zealously, or shew myself more than was absolutely necessary to the officials of the local Subah. I succeeded, however, in getting an impression of one line of inscription under a statue built into the interior face of the wall of the palace courtyard; the statue is a twelve-armed seated female; on top is a seated naked figure; at the foot there is a bird as symbol; the female holds in her right hands a battle axe, a sword, a chakra, a trisul; the other two hands being broken, in her left she holds also a sword, a club, a bow, the rest being broken; over her head the expanded hood of a naga forms a canopy. The inscription is illegible. The sculpture is evidently Jain.

There is, close to it, a fine Jain lion pedestal, and another Jain figure; there are some other uninteresting sculptures; the execution is fair, the stone being a smooth, close-grained black stone.

Outside the entrance are two lage figures of Ganeça, one of very fair execution, and several Jain statues.

The ancient city, however, was about a mile to the S.-E. of the present city. Here stands one temple tolerably entire, of which the accompanying plates will give the architectural details; it is an unusually large temple, in the style of the temples of Khajuráhá, and among them, it resembles most the small ruined temple known as Jabar, close to the group of Jain temples there.

The plan shews a square sanctum with pilasters at the corners, supporting the inner roof of intersecting squares; these pillars are plain square ones, ornamented with mouldings and bracket capitals in the usual way, but are higher than usual, and suited to the size of the sanctum wherein they are placed; in front of the sanctum is the antárala, and in front of it, the great mahamandapa; this is roofed by a dome of overlapping stones disposed in concentric circles, each fretted and coved, but without the seated statues in each

fretted recess that confers on the roof at Páli its peculiar richness; the roof has tumbled in partially. The dome rests on eight double pilasters, the corners of the square mandapa being cut off by architraves diagonally between the proper pilasters; from the octagon thus formed by the architraves rises the circular dome; the pilasters are square, but richly carved, and indented at the angles; they rest on high massive bases, which confer dignity on them, and are crowned by the usual corbelled cruciform capitals. From the projecting arms of the corbelled caps rise female figures supporting, as it were, the lowest circle of the dome; the effect is very pleasing, as it is evident that the figures really have no weight to bear, nor are the disposition of the limbs such as to denote that they are bearing a weight; they look like girls in frolic pretending to support the roof; in short, they look exactly what they are, mere ornaments, and as such are very pleasing; three of these alone exist now.

On the two sides of the mahamandapa are openings leading into or on to the projecting windows with seats and back-rests, as in the temples at Khajuráhá; on both sides, however, the windows have suffered much. The northern window has the bottoms of its outer pillars, one at each end, crushed and worn to such an extent, that the pillar may now fairly be said to be resting on a point, and the wonder is that the point has not yet been crushed, nor the pillar thrown out of its perpendicular, but the destruction of this window cannot be far distant; at present, the vibration produced even by a man walking in the mahamandapa is distinctly felt in the tottering pillars with their superincumbent roof.

In front of the mahamandapa is a chamber which answers to both mandapa and ardha mandapa; it is not open on the sides, and its roof rests on whole pilasters, not dwarf pillars. The roof is of intersecting squares.

The temple faces east. On the architrave over the entrance into the sanctum is sculptured an eight-armed male figure; over this architrave is another on which a Ganeça is sculptured. I am not aware of any eight-armed male god among the Hindus, but the figure of Ganeça with the argha inside is conclusive evidence of its Saivic origin; it appears to me, however, that the original floor of the sanctum had at one period been overlaid by a fresh layer of stone, which has been cut to fit the curve of the argha; if this layer, as I conjecture, has really been put on afterwards, I can see no reason for it, except the circumstance that corrosion has so act-

ed on the lower part of the walls, that some of the stones have been nearly eaten through, and the second layer may have been meant to hide the unsightly stones and to add to the strength of the building. The corrosion or scaling off appears due to an inherent defect in the stone itself, as almost the whole of the coarse-grained reddish stone has thus suffered, whether in the floor or on the tower; at the same time the deeper-colored, close-grained, purplish red stone of the statues does not appear to have suffered much, though it must be noticed that they are mostly protected by coats of plaster and whitewash.

The great tower is of very elegant shape, and rises up with a gentle graceful curve, most nearly approaching in form the curves of the towers of the Jain group of temples at Khajuráhá, and of the temple known as Jabar; it is ornamented by clusters of similar-shaped towers, smaller, rising up along its faces and angles to varying and progressively increasing heights, thus giving it the appearance of rising up through a great forest of similar smaller towers; it is crowned with the amalaka in the usual way; the tower is adorned exteriorly by deep rich moulding at the base, surmounted by two tiers of large and one tier of smaller statues, like the temples of the Jain group at Khajuráhá; above these, the faces and facets of the tower are ornamented by the horse-shoe type of sculpture used in the Jain temples mentioned before, the corners, here as there, being broken up into a series of compartments by deep lines; the resemblance is, in short, complete, with only a difference of size and of the heights to which the surrounding attached tower pilasters are allowed to rise up on the sides of the main tower.

The antárala is roofed as usual by a gable-ended roof projecting from the main front face of the tower; the gable form is, however, broken up into numerous steps; the entrance into the inner upper chamber over the sanctum exists, but there are here, in addition to the front entrance, two side openings in the projecting sides of the gable roof projection.

The form of the roof of the mahamandapa externally probably resembled that of the Jabar temple; it is now broken; the windows probably had roofs, rising up to points as usual, and so probably had the portico.

The sculpture is much in the style of the Khajuráhá sculptures; there are very gross obscenities, but they are placed

in retired corners; figures of women purposely exposing themselves are, however, very numerous; the sculptures and the whole temple have had repeated coats of whitewash, and the hollows still retain the layers of whitewash.

Internally, the walls are perfectly plain, sculpture being used solely on the pillars, roofs, and on the doorway to the sanctum; this last is profusely sculptured; the central figure over the doorway is an eight-armed male, holding in his right hands a trident, a mala, a figure like an hour-glass 0̲8̲0 with a noose, and one hand empty; in his left he holds a sword, a skull fixed on a pole, one hand broken, and one empty; on his sides are on one side Brahma and his wife, on the left Vishnu and his wife; the concluding figures on this richly sculptured architrave being Pârvati and Ganeça.

In minuteness and profusion of sculpture the doorway will rival any that I know of.

Over the doorway, a plain, deep and broad architrave having cracked, two extra pillars have been put up with the intention of supporting it; the pillars, however, do not reach so high, and now stand doing no good, but effectually hiding the rich sculpture on the sides of the doorway.

Three different kinds of stone have been used in building this temple, a red, a yellowish, and a purple sandstone; the red is the worst, and everywhere peels off; the yellow is soft, but does not scale off as if attacked by saltpetre like the red; the purple appears the hardest, but it also suffers from the weather.

This temple is, on the whole, a very fine example of its kind, and well deserving study.

There is a silly tradition of some European surveyors having dug up the sanctum of the temple for treasure, with which they decamped; the story is clearly an invention, and may be dismissed with the remark that, wherever it is possible to ascribe acts of vandalism to Europeans, the inhabitants very generally do so.

This temple is the only standing one; its age cannot, from its style both of building and sculpture, date beyond the Khajuráhá temples; and among them, from the resemblance of the constructive and ornamental features of its mahamandapa to those of the Kunwar Math near Khajuráhá, I should ascribe them both to about the same period. Masons' marks in late mediæval letters *ku*, *ke*, *ri*, *sad*, show that this temple is certainly not so old as the older of the great

Khajuráhá temples. I ascribe this temple to the end of the eleventh century.

To the east of this temple, over a large plain, are numerous ruins, or rather mounds, whence every stone that could be used, or was needed for the modern city, has been, and is being, taken away. I counted eight groups of temples, of which two were certainly Jain; a statue lying near one of them has inscribed the words *Sri Chandra* in deep characters; the temples therefore do not date to a period beyond the tenth century or thereabouts, and may be later; this statue has the antelope symbol; one other statue was inscribed on the pedestal, but the sharpening of tools on it has worn away every letter; two groups of temples were Vaishnavic, two others Saivic, the remaining two are doubtful.

The largest group to the west consists of a great temple, with a courtyard and numerous small temples surrounding it; it was perhaps a monastery, or a temple with a courtyard surrounded by cells, as at Arang and Bheraghat, but square, not circularly disposed. To the east of the temple and its courtyard was a bauli cut through into the solid rock; this bauli had a descent from the monastery side. On the opposite side of the courtyard was another bauli with a descent from the courtyard also, so that this temple was well provided with water.

To the north of this are two groups, one with a well, cut through the solid rock, the uppermost three or four feet in depth being built square with cut-stone, and the well below this depth being, as usual, circular; this was a small group consisting of not more than two or three small temples.

The other group possesses a circular well, lined with stone cut to shape accurately; the well is surrounded by the ruins of some five small temples.

Between these two groups and a little to the south is a small solitary mound, near which are the Jain statues, one of which is inscribed on the back, and has been noticed. To the south-west of this is the great group of Jain temples already described. To the south-east is another large group, in which is a female statue, many-armed, with a seated figure on the top, over the head of the female; the seated figure is one of a Jain hierarch, but I could not determine which.

To the east of this is a rivulet, the banks of which are literally lined with ruins of temples. Of three groups on its banks. one appears Vaishnavic, while the others are doubtful;

a larger group, the largest at the east end of these ruins, but not on the banks of the nala, appears also Vaishnavic. Each of these groups must have consisted of at least five temples, the largest one, however, consisting of more, perhaps altogether a dozen temples, of which only two appear to have been large, the others having been probably subordinate temples round the great ones.

The ruins have long been used as quarries by the present city. There are 21 sati monuments among the ruins, 13 being plain chaubutras from 5 feet to 12 feet square, and from 4 to 7 feet high, and 8 being chhatris with roofs and chambers; the whole of these are built of stones from the ruins; the largest group of these chhatris has a bauli and some fragments of statues in front; statues are also stuck into the walls of chhatris and chaubutras by way of ornament, and several fine Jain ones are thus ornamenting one of the chhatris on the banks of the bauli, which itself is of stone and is similarly ornamented; the statues, however, being loose in niches and not fixed into the walls. A fine fragment here represents a 20-armed female, most of whose arms are now gone; over her head, at the top of the sculpture, is seated a Buddha with two Buddhistwas seated sideways, one on each side. The female rests one foot on an animal which may be either a ram, or a pig, or rhinoceros, or even a buffalo (it has lost its head); a lion is devouring its hind quarters. Another fragment represents Surya with three horses; the fragment consists of only the lower half of the statue. One of the Vaman incarnation, a Jain half stupa with naked Jain figures, several lingams and a mass of other nondescript fragments may be seen on the banks of the bauli.

The ruins are said to be the site of the capital of Raja Vairátá, and is fabled to have been in ancient times called Bairátpur; it is said to have extended from Chandania, Antala, Arjuna and Singpur, to the Son northwards; and from Kanchanpur, Kotmi and Jamni to the Bánganga rivulet westward! the Bánganga rivulet being a small rivulet flowing past the standing Sohagpur temple; it is said not to have extended as far west as the present city of Sohagpur, which was then a jangal. The standing Sohagpur temple is said to have been built by a *Bábá* (a holy mendicant), who was reigning here prior to the advent of the Baghel rulers, and to be long subsequent in date to the ruins, which date to Raja Bairát. Within the area indicated as the extent of the ancient city, and on the banks of the Son within the

prescribed limits, are said to be numerous remains of old temples; this last statement is valuable, as it is probably correct. The legend about Raja Bairát is, of course, to be dismissed as an idle invention.

Although not of archæological interest, I cannot pass over the scenery of the Johila river without a passing mention: it surpasses even the natural beauties on the Narbadá; the streams that flow into the Son above its junction with the Johila all carry down sand of a brilliant, bright red or orange hue, and, when rendered turbid, the water itself appears reddish. The Son itself has deposits of sand similar in color, and accordingly in parts its waters have a reddish tinge; while in others, and especially where it flows in a deep rocky channel, the color is bluish green: the beauty of the scenery on the Son rivals that on the Narbadá.

From Sohagpur I wished to visit Bandhogarh, but found that it was impracticable, the Rewah Raja's Tahsildar at Mánpur not only absolutely forbidding me to go to Bandhogarh, but threatening to send me a prisoner to Rewah if I attempted it, and recommending me not to deviate from the direct and shortest road from Mánpur to Myhar. Resistance was out of the question, and it was useless to waste more valuable time after what had already irrevocably been wasted by lengthy references to the head-quarters of His Highness the Raja of Rewah and to the Political Agent at his Court. I therefore relinquished my hopes of seeing Bandhogarh with the best grace I could, and thought myself lucky in escaping further annoyances.

This closes my work during the season. Of the excavations at Bharhut, General Cunningham will doubtless give a full account, and I need only refer to his writings.

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Scale 20 ft = 1 Inch

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DIAGRAMS OF CONSTRUCTION
OF THE SANCTUMS OF
TEMPLES

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K⸱HILYA

10 0 10

Scale 8' 1'

TEMPLE

Scale 20 ft = 1 Inch

MASJID
at back of Temple

A Mahomedan Gate here

J. D. Beglar del

Basement of TEMPLE
Section of Inclosure Wall
Floor of Courtyard
Floor of Courtyard
Scale

PATHÂRI
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Outer Gate
Block plan of Pathari
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Temple
Temple
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Plan of Small Temple
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PATHARI

PLATE X

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TEMPLE OF MAHAKALI
WAIRAGARH
Tower of Temple
RÂMTEK
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Pillar in Temple of HEMADH PANT
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Scale 20'=1"
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